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BENJAMIN S. JONES, EDITOR. "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS." ANN PEARSON, PUBLISHING AGENT.

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The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

A NORTHERN PLEA FOR THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

BY GEO. W. BASSETT, OTTAWA, ILLINOIS.

The great event of the day and of the world, is the formal dissolution of the American Union.

But, secession, the exciting phenomenon, is only the fatal issue of a chronic disease, as old as the nation. The seeds of dissolution were planted in the American Government at its formation.

Long before the South Carolina ordinance of secession, was this Union of States destroyed in spirit and in practice. The laws which obligate the States and their citizens to each other, have been practically nullified for years. While a citizen of Massachusetts, or of any other Northern State, can traverse the whole wide extent of the British Empire, and, whatever his color, creed or condition at home, his natural rights be as firmly protected as those of the Queen on her throne; the moment he crosses the line which divides the slave from the non-slave States, he is subject to indignities and lawless outrage, unsurpassed by the selfish cruelty of the most wild and inhospitable barbarians.

It is a humiliating thought, that there is no power in the civilized world that could protect the *life* of the President elect, though uncharged with civil crime, were he now to attempt to pass through the Slave States of this Republic.

The mere ordinance of a misguided State, therefore, is not the cause of the dissolution of the American Union. A more potent agency has long since wrought the fatal work, beyond the remedy of civil or military power.

But the formal separation of the States, so long increasingly probable, has at length become a matter of history. The spirited State of South Carolina has led the way, and by the highest act of popular sovereignty, formally repealed the ordinance of 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and has thus dissolved her Union with the other States of this Confederacy.

One star, followed by another and another and *others still*, have fled from the American galaxy.

Whether there is any legitimate or illegitimate power able to seize and replace them again, and bind them in their former and formal courses of reluctant submission, is the question of the times.

It is to the candid and deliberate consideration of this question, that I now ask attention.

An exigency has occurred in the history of our country, which requires the guidance of fundamental principles and the promptings of a magnanimous spirit. Without original and profound views of the principles of government, we shall find ourselves bewildered at every point. Nay! we may fancy that we are incidentally advancing the cause of freedom, when, in fact, by obeying the dictates of prejudice and following the precedents of the past, we may be forging chains for ourselves, and strengthening those which have so long bound the Negro slave.

It may be thought strange that, with my well-known hostility to American Slavery, together with the almost unanimous anti-secession feeling of the North, I should, in this specific controversy, take the side of the South.

But it is not in the enslavement of her poor, that I side with her; but in her inalienable right of national sovereignty.

The greater question of the existence of slavery is a distinct matter, and, if involved at all, very differently, in my apprehension, from that of the popular mind generally at the North. Nor have I failed to give due consideration to that greatest of political problems.

THE QUESTION STATED.

The specific question is, *"Has any one of the United States a right to secede from the Union at her own option?"*

This should not be confounded with other collateral or incidental questions, such as, whether there is sufficient *cause* for secession? or whether it is expedient for the seceding States? or best for the other States?

I propose to discuss the *absolute and unqualified right of the people of any State to dissolve their political connection with the General Government whenever they choose.*

The right of secession implies, of course, the right of the people to be their own exclusive judges in the matter. By the very act of asking the consent or permission of the other States to secede they relinquish the right to do so. So by granting them that permission, you would deny them the right. Says Ferguson, "Liberty is a right which every individual must be ready to vindicate for himself, and which he who pretends to bestow as a favor, has by that very act in reality denied."

POPULAR SUPREMACY.

Before entering upon the direct argument for the right of State secession, and as preparatory to it, I will invite attention briefly to the great fundamental principle of free government, viz: *The political supremacy of the people of any given territory over all human authority, subject only to natural justice.* A due consideration of the nature and legitimate object of government will make this principle obvious to reason. The true nature of government is the will of the people governed, voluntarily expressed and enforced by themselves. Its object is protection from injustice. The true idea of government is, that of a mutual league of such persons as may voluntarily unite to protect each other against lawless and vicious men. One man is not naturally more a ruler than another. The people of any community as a whole are endowed with natural sovereignty. They alone are interested, and of course they alone are the proper authors of laws, and the creators of magistrates. Hence they are politically superior to all constitutions, compacts, laws or magistrates. Magistrates are only the hired servants of the sovereign people, which they may discharge at will. Laws and constitutions are only the decrees of the people, which the makers are competent to annul or change at will.

This principle is clearly recognized in our own immortal Declaration of Independence in these words: "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to *them* shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." And this declaration was made "in the name and by the *authority* of the *good* people of these colonies," and our own glorious Revolution was the practical commentary upon this great principle of popular supremacy.

The same has been abundantly enunciated by the wisest of English statesmen, and exemplified by the most exalted instances of patriotic devotion and valor.

The profoundest of England's political philosophers, and the most revered of her patriots, the great Algernon Sidney, says, "that they who place the power in a multitude, understand a multitude composed of freemen, who *think* it for their convenience to join together, and to establish such laws and rules as they oblige *themselves* to observe; which multitude, whether it be great or small, has the *same right*; because *ten* men are as free as ten millions; and though it may be more prudent in some cases to join with the greater than the smaller number, because there is more strength, it is not so always; but however every man must therein be his own judge, since if he mistake, the hurt is only to himself; and the *ten* may as *justly* resolve to live together, form a civil society, and oblige themselves to laws, as the greatest number of men that ever met together in the world."

This clear, profound, and comprehensive proposition, expresses the great fundamental principle of civil liberty, and lies at the foundation of all free governments, whatever their form. It was enunciated by one of the world's greatest philosophers and truest heroes, and was endorsed by his life and sealed with his blood upon the scaffold of tyranny, which is indeed the scaffold of glory. But it is constantly being overlooked and lost from the popular mind. The people are ever forgetting their natural sovereignty, with its natural advantages and responsibilities, and paying a blind devotion to some form of tyranny which they reverence under the name of government, and most blindly and most devoutly those plausible tyrannies which are exercised in their own name and authority.

But on a point so vital and fundamental, I would refer to another of the intellectual giants of the 17th century. It is John Milton, the magnificence and profoundness of whose political writings are hardly surpassed by the unequalled grandeur of the Paradise Lost. He says, "that since the king or magistrate holds his authority of the people, both originally and naturally for *their* good, in the first place, and not *his own*, then may the people as oft as *they* shall *judge* it for the *best*, either choose him or *reject* him or *depose* him, though *no tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of free born men*, to be governed as *seems to them best*."

These majestic truths have stood the test of ages of hostile power and popular prejudice. They are truly immortal. They may be forgotten in the selfish gratification of a degenerate, mercenary, and servile age. They may be eclipsed by the dazzling glitter of aristocratic wealth and power, but they are imperishably enshrined with the richest jewels of the world's literature. There will they ever remain, for the encouragement of the patriot, and the guide and inspiration of the heroes of Liberty.

Again, our own great Jefferson, as late as 1819, in arguing against the supremacy and independence of any one department of government, says, "that absolute independence can be trusted nowhere but with the people, *en masse*. *They* are independent of all but moral law."

Here is an admirable expression of both the *extent* and *limit* of popular supremacy. The people are competent to any political act that is not morally unjust. But they possess no sovereign right to do wrong. They are independent of all *but* moral law. No antiquity of authority—no extent of numbers—no solemnity of legal forms, nor majesty of judicial decisions, nor sanctity of religious oaths, can authorize the perpetration of a moral wrong—can justify a Shylock in taking the covenanted pound of flesh.

It is claimed that a numerical majority have a right to rule and to enforce their decrees. But nothing is more erroneous. The Southern statesmen are right in principle in denying the absolute supremacy of the majority. Majorities possess no legitimate authority to do wrong. There can be no legitimate authority to do a moral wrong, because right is immutable, and eternally and unconditionally obligatory. *Right is the unchanging decree of the Supreme Being.*

If a majority enacts and enforces a moral wrong, it is nothing less nor more than tyranny; and no tyrannies are so irresponsible and uncontrollable as those of a majority; and no political thraldom is so degrading as that which is self-imposed.

It is plain, therefore, that sovereignty ceases with the transgression of natural justice. Then the sovereign, whether a monarch or a tyrannical majority, becomes *himself* the culprit, and justly subject to any righteous power that may restrain him. "Justice," says Milton, *"is the sword of God superior to all mortal things, in whose hand soever, by apparent signs, his testified will is to put it."*

But this popular supremacy, of course, involves *also* popular responsibility. Government is not a mere selfish interest, but a high and sacred trust. The legitimate end of government is to prevent injustice. The sovereign people are therefore the responsible guardians of civil justice and human rights. This responsibility, in any given case, is measured by physical power. Human enactments being the mere creatures or acts of the people, are not, of course, the true measure of their responsibility. The sovereign people have no more right to suffer injustice, than to do it. It is a betrayal or neglect of their trust. They are the divinely constituted and legitimately authorized guardians of human rights over such territory as they may actually occupy; and for the faithful discharge of the functions of political supremacy, God and humanity will hold them responsible.

Of no principle of political philosophy is history more replete with beautiful and glorious examples, than this of popular supremacy. The gloomy annals of human thraldom are relieved and gladdened by innumerable instances of its heroic exercise.

It was the presiding genius of Roman destiny in all the brilliant progress of that wonderful people from an iron monarchy to the achievement of a system of republican freedom, which has been the pride, stimulant and model of the race ever since. The same principle, also, has ever presided over the developement of that palladium of human freedom, the British Constitution, and is to-day, in both hemispheres, it is the almighty angel of Liberty, commissioned of God, and moving about among the nations, demolishing thrones, changing dynasties, crushing despotisms, and everywhere demanding the inauguration of the reign of justice and equal right.

Thus it appears that supreme political power inheres in the people of any given territory, that they have the right to do politically whatever is not in its nature unjust. They may form, modify, or abolish their government as shall seem best to their own judgment, restricted of course by *"justice,"* which, as Milton says, *"is the only true sovereign and supreme majesty upon earth."*

It is, simply, the great natural right of self-government.

From this fundamental truth of political philosophy, I infer the right of South Carolina, or any other State of the American Confederacy, to secede from the Union, at their *own option.*

This corollary from the principle of popular supremacy, I propose further to illustrate, sanction, and enforce, by such considerations as are suggested by the present national exigency.

THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED ESSENTIAL.

Our government, as is well known, owes its origin to the declaration that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." If, therefore, South Carolina withdraws her consent from the United States Government, where is your just power to govern her? I wish I had a logical answer to that question before I advance another step in my argument. It seems indisputably evident to my mind, that all your just power or authority to govern her is nullified by such withholding of consent. Not only the American Union, but any and all other legitimate governments are destroyed by the withdrawal of the popular consent. This, according to the Declaration of Independence, is all that is necessary to effect the proper dissolution of any government.

What is the object of a government? Simply the protection of the people. But if the people do not consent to receive such protection as any power affords, what reason is there in enforcing it upon them? If political authority is exercised over a people, by taxation, direct or indirect, either by a revenue officer or a common publican, or in any other way, without their consent, it is only usurpation, and not legitimate authority. Your administration may not be tyrannical or oppressive—it may even be fatally lax and indulgent to crime; but without the consent of the governed, it is usurpation, and unwarrantable either on the principles of our own government, or any sound principles of political philosophy,—even though it be *beneficent in its aims.* But on this point let me quote again from an authority of whom an appreciative world will never tire. Milton says: "They that shall boast, as we do, to be a free nation, and not have in *themselves* the *power* to remove or to abolish any governor, supreme or subordinate, with the *government itself* upon urgent causes, may please their fancy with a ridiculous and painted freedom, fit to cosen babies, but are indeed under tyranny and servitude, as wanting that power, which is the root and source of all liberty, to dispose and economise in the land which God hath given them, as masters of family, in their own house and free inheritance, without which, natural and essential power of a free nation, though bearing high their heads, they can in due esteem be thought no better than slaves and vassals born, in the tenure and occupation of another inheriting lord, whose government, though *not illegal or intolerable*, hangs over them as a lordly *scourge*, not as a *free government*, and *therefore* to be *abrogated.*"

Now I ask, are these words of might and grandeur the senseless ravings of a revolutionary fanatic, or the philosophical apprehensions of a profound and world-renowned statesman? Have they not, like angelic powers, stood sentinel at the gates of Freedom, and defied the combined attacks of despotism and servility for more than two hundred years? And it is against this principle of popular supremacy, before whose imperial wand hundreds of usurping dynasties have laid down their sceptre, that our infatuated government proposes to rush, in coercing a seceding State. We propose to govern a State without her consent! What is this but the re-enactment of the identical tragedy of Lord North's attempt to subdue the American Colonies! Why! even the British Government, in the more enlightened parts of her domain, has nearly or quite abandoned that principle. Why else does the premier always feel constrained to resign his office, when his measures are defeated in the popular branch of the Legislature? It is nothing less than a most significant acknowledgment of the practical triumph of popular supremacy. The very throne of free England is supposed to reflect the sentiment of the English people.—How long could it endure the light of this age if it did not? So dominant is this sentiment in the English mind, that if Canada or British Columbia should to-day vote to become an independent Republic, a war to re-conquer her would doubtless seriously endanger the British throne. It is too late in the day to carry out that principle. In coercing South Carolina, or any of her seceding compeers, you would violate the most approved sentiments of modern Europe, and go back for your precedents to the grand despotisms of Louis XIV. of France, and the tyrannical usurpations of James II. of England. Even Louis Napoleon owes his imperial sceptre directly or indirectly to twenty millions of popular votes; and almost every breeze from the classic land of Italy brings to our gladdened ears the crash of some hoary dynasty, that has fallen before the imperial march of popular sovereignty.

Coerce South Carolina to submit to a foreign government, and you tear the well-earned laurels from the brow of the brave and unconquerable Garibaldi. You re-inforce the tyrannical garrisons of Rome and forge new manacles for her bleeding patriots. You pour contempt and insult upon your nation's late eloquent and distinguished guest, and give the right hand of fellowship to Austria, in her subjugation of Hungary and her other dissatisfied provinces. The doctrine of the coercion of an unwilling people, is an antiquated old scourge of men, *"the divine right of Kings."* I will even invoke Imperial Russia, hardly out of her childhood of civilization, to rebuke the recreancy of the American Republic to the great object of all revolutionary struggles and sacrifices—the *real political policy of the people.*

Let it be understood, and even remembered, and rung through the *world*, to the rebuke of all tyranny, that government is a *duty* and not an *interest.* There *is* no divine *right* of Kings. There is a divine *duty.* Nor any more is there a divine right of Presidents as such. Strictly speaking, government has *no rights.* It has duties to perform simply. Its whole object is to protect men in *their* rights. "Security against wrong," says Mackintosh, "is the object of all government."—There is, therefore, a divine right of the people, but not of magistrates as such. Says Milton, "to say, as is usual, the king hath as good a right to his crown and dignity as any man to his inheritance, is to make the subject no better than the *king's slave*, his chattel, or his possession, that may be bought and sold;" and he adds that, to affirm this doctrine, "is a kind of treason against the dignity of mankind." And surely it is equally absurd and improper for the people of one section of the country to advance a claim of right to the political allegiance of those of another section. The most arrogant pretensions of ancient royalty, are not more preposterous.

FREEMEN NOT SUBJECTS BUT SOVEREIGNS.

Again, the word subject itself expresses a rank political heresy, and is unworthy to be applied to an American citizen.

According to the true theory of our government and of all *free* or popular governments, the people are not subjects, but sovereigns. They are themselves the government—the supreme political tribunal. Government is *ourselves*, freely acting in a political capacity, for the *sole purpose* of protecting ourselves against lawless violence and fraud. Our object is not to *subject* ourselves to political authority, but to *protect* ourselves by our own inherent and inalienable political authority. The American people have become so degenerate under the influence of their long and aggravated violations of the principles of liberty, that they seem quite incapable of forming a conception of the true theory of government and the rights of man. But the sentiment of a true political philosophy is, "that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers. For whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for men-stealers,' for liars, for perjured persons, and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine,' i. e., any other *form* of vice. It is a humiliating thought, unworthy of the true dignity of human nature, that an immortal man, created in the image of his Maker, should require to be subjected to the authority of some earthly potentate, to prevent his committing crime against society! I hope, therefore, that the ignoble word subject will be forever discarded from the vocabulary of those who maintain the slightest element of self-respect, or conscious virtue. *Real* virtue will be *subject* to *no human authority. It nobly spurns the idea.*—It is subject only to the supreme authority of right. It *acquiesces* in human authority, nay, *exercises* it against the vicious—but is *subject* only to *right.* Is it true that men pay their debts because they are obliged to by human authority? Then I rank them with whoremongers and men-stealers, whether in the church or out. Is it true that men are deterred from murder, theft and other crimes by human governments? It simply proves them morally worthless.

COERCION IS CONQUEST.

But let us return to the point. What right has the United States Government to impose its authority upon the unwilling people of South Carolina, or any of her Southern compeers? or rather, what right have we, the combined people of the other States, to govern the unwilling people of those States? Is our motive protection—the only legitimate object of government? None will pretend it. If we duly analyze the matter, we shall see that it is only the old, long-exploded, and detestable doctrine of the divine right of kings in a new form. It is true that we are not one king or sovereign, but we are a *nation* of them. We are not one usurper, but a *people* of usurpers. For it is nothing less than usurpation to exercise political authority over an unwilling people. It is the essence of usurpation—exercising authority which legitimately belongs to another. Nor does the Republican form and name of the authority diminish the enormity of the crime against human nature.

OF THE COLLECTION OF THE REVENUE.

Suppose we simply collect the revenue of South Carolina, as the Government proposes to do, and as the people generally demand and claim the right to do, what is she any longer, I ask, but a conquered province? and what is your revenue but a forced tribute? What else did Rome, whose example we seem to be following, even do to vanquished and humbled Carthage, or to any of her conquered provinces? What more did Alexander, or the great Napoleon, but to collect an involuntary tribute from unwilling victims of their victorious arms? I hear it every day gravely maintained and with apparent sincerity, by many of the Northern citizens, and they catch it from our members of Congress, that we do not intend to conquer South Carolina, but only to collect her revenue, and probably blockade her ports and keep possession of the military posts! But does any intelligent person fail to see that that is the full extent of political subjugation? Taxation, direct or indirect, is one of the highest functions of sovereignty, and to blockade a port, is one of the most belligerent of acts. It is truly ridiculous for grave members of Congress to disclaim any purpose of conquest or war, when they advocate the extreme measures of military hostility.

COERCION ITSELF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

When you successfully collect an involuntary and resisted revenue from the port of Charleston, or any other port within the geographical limits of South Carolina, her sovereignty is destroyed, as really as that of Carthage after the sad termination of the third Punic war.

But remember, that when South Carolina falls, she falls not alone. The suicidal hand which strikes down the sovereignty of the people of South Carolina, demolishes that of Massachusetts with it, and the whole fabric of Americans Liberty falls by the same stroke. Then not one star escapes from the galaxy of free sovereignties, but all are blotted out by this sweeping stroke of despotic usurpation. We are no longer a voluntary confederation of sovereign States, but each and all of us conquered provinces of a centralised and consolidated despotism. We of the North may be voluntary in this subjugation, like the more degraded of slaves—yes, we may be the unnatural agents of it; but it is subjection *still.*

Truly has it been said, that a people may lose their liberties a century before they become aware of the fact. And it is to be feared that we shall be subjugated to despotism in the very name of liberty. I am impressed with the conviction that the American people are not aware of the drift of passing and prospective events. All history is one great warning and remonstrance against our proposed course. What if it is South Carolina that is conquered now? It may be Massachusetts next. I know that slavery complains the most to-day, but liberty may be the next victim, if, indeed it is not even now to be the *real* victim.

It seems evident to my mind that, instead of the acknowledgment of the right of secession being the destruction of the government, the practical application of the doctrine of coercion is, itself, both the destruction of the government and the efficient cause of secession.

It is the destruction of the government, because it is a political revolution. It is a change of the whole spirit of the government, from a confederacy of sovereign States, held together by mutual interest and common attachment, to a consolidated empire, bound together by military force.

It is also, to some extent, an efficient cause of the present dissolution of the Union. It is the belligerent doctrines and attitude of the dominant politicians of the North, which have precipitated this movement of secession. If the right of secession had been conceded at the first, the movement would have been deprived of its essential vigor and intenseness. The people, feeling that they had a conceded right to secede at will, would naturally have delayed an act so fearfully pregnant with possible evils. They would have given themselves time to fully consider the subject in all its bearings and possible consequences. Nor could so many States have been induced to follow the momentous experiment in such hasty succession. It is very doubtful if the movement could have been effected at all, if the right to make it had not been denied. But the right was denied with threats of coercion, and the people of the slave States saw impending over them a political domination which, if its doctrines were carried out, would destroy their legitimate sovereignty, and reduce them to the condition of conquered provinces of political slaves. They were, therefore, driven to the fearful experiment of secession by the necessities of their contested and endangered rights.

TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS.

This very result was distinctly predicted by our political fathers, as the necessary consequence of this doctrine of force as applied to sovereign States. Mr. Madison said, "The use of force against a State would "look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment," and would be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all "previous compacts by which it might be bound." Mr. Hamilton, the well known and able advocate of a strong government, asks, "How can this force be exerted on the *States collectively?* It is impossible. *It amounts to a war between the parties,"* adding also this prophetic declaration, that "a *dissolution of the Union will ensue.*"

Col. Mason said, "The most jarring elements of nature, fire and water themselves, are not more incompatible than such a mixture of civil liberty and military execution. Will the militia march from one State into another in order to collect the taxes from the delinquent members of the Republic? Will they maintain an army for this purpose? Will not the citizens of the invaded States assist one another, till they rise as one man and shake off the Union altogether?"

What delusive spell is upon our dominant politicians, that they shut their eyes to the clear light of other days, and attempt to manage the affairs of a mighty but distracted nation, with their own minds embarrassed with ignorance, and enveloped in the clouds of party passion and prejudice? Where, under the land of such political quackery and utter selfishness, is the nation drifting?

Milton says of the political managers of his day, "how to solder, how to stop a leak, how to keep up the floating carcass of a crazy and diseased monarchy or *State*, betwixt wind and water, swimming still upon her own dead lees, *that now is the deep design of a politician!*"

It seems as if the prophetic philosopher, whose he penned that description, had in his eye the very political tinkers of Washington in eighteen hundred and sixty-one.

It needs broader views, loftier aims, and holier purposes to guide the statesman amidst the storm and darkness of political and civil convulsion, when the great pillars of the government reel under the strokes of revolutionary violence, than merely to manage a political party in an ordinary contest for the spoils of office.

These are times which require not merely political cunning, but profound statesmanship. They demand the triumph and control of the great principles of permanent and unchanging truth.

THE CASE REVERSED.

Suppose the case reversed, and, instead of South Carolina desiring to secede from the Union, for the interests of slavery, Massachusetts should wish to secede, for the interests of liberty. Suppose the people of the latter should feel conscientiously bound to withdraw political fellowship and complicity with slavery, and to exercise their natural sovereignty in a just, humane, and impartial system of government,—would it not be oppression to compel her to remain? Would not the combined tyranny of thirty-three coercing States be a more intolerable despotism than any single tyrant? Would it not be oppression for the general government to collect an involuntary tribute from an unwilling State, to support a government whose flag protects not only the crime of slavery but the African slave trade itself? Nor is the case at all improbable, if even Massachusetts is not wholly corrupt by the progressive degeneracy of the times. Even now the government of the United States is deemed intolerably oppressive by the best citizens of Massachusetts and many of the other Northern States. There is not a foot of soil within the wide domain of our Republic, where persecution for righteousness' sake is not the dominant principle. Fines and imprisonment follow with fearful certainty the holiest act of Christian charity. The friends of liberty and a free conscience should be careful how they sanction a principle against South Carolina, which may have equal power against the holiest instinct of humanity in the people of the Northern States.

IS SECESSION CONSTITUTIONAL?

I am asked if there is any provision in the Constitution of the United States, for the secession of a State from the Union? I reply, manifestly and of course *not.* No government can contemplate its own dissolution. Governments are formed for action and not cessation. We must not, therefore, look for any positive warrant for dissolution in the Constitution itself. But I trace this warrant to a far higher, holier, and more authoritative source than the Constitution of the United States. It is a right *inherent* in the divine constitution of human nature, and anterior to all human constitutions. As Senator Benjamin, in his last Senatorial effort, well and truly said, "it is an *inherent inalienable* right." It is nothing less than the great natural right of self-government, which is only *self-protection.* I read it in that divine image—that imperial superscription, stamped upon the heart of man in his creation, by which he is born a *sovereign* and not a subject. I recognize it in the constitutional political supremacy of the people, which is fatal alike to confederated despotism and chattel slavery.

THE RIGHT OF REVOLUTION.

But this, I am told, is the right of Revolution, and that is conceded. *Well,* if this is conceded, *all* that is essential is conceded. If the people of any territory have the natural right of revolution, it can not be the right of any power to put that revolution down. The natural rights of men can never conflict. The right of revolution, and the right of the suppression of the same, cannot coexist. Senator Wade, in sounding the bugle-blast of that civil war which now threatens to convulse and desolate the land, concedes the right of revolution, and says, if successful, the revolutionists are heroes. But he maintains the co-existing right of the general government to put them down by force, and if successful, to constitute the revolutionists *traitors* instead of heroes; and a vast number of Northern politicians have followed his lead. But what is this sentiment but that old cannibalistic monster, that *"might makes right."* The sentiment is altogether unworthy of civilization and true philosophy.

This right of revolution, which hardly any American citizen can be so inconsistent as to deny in theory, is only the natural and inherent right of self-government.

Sir Thomas Smith, an eminent British statesman, in his Commonwealth of England, says of revolution, or of rising against a tyrant, *"that the subject judge of it according to the event, and the law and according to the purpose of them that do it."* There you have it. If you are successful, as Wade

says, you are heroes like Washington; but if overpowered by numbers and crushed with brute force, you are hung as traitors like John Brown."

But this, we see, is the judgment of the *vulgar*, and not the learned. Nor is it the judgment of Aschey, in the undying record of Brutus and Cæsar. And your anti-slavery Senator from the "free" State of Ohio, would have the general government act out this ignoble sentiment, and put down by brute force the mother right of self-government! Great God! To what are we coming? The descendants of the heroes of seventy-six advocating and enforcing the very doctrines against which their fathers fought and bled! Did our American revolutionists do right to secede from the British Empire and set up an independent government? If so, did Great Britain do right to wage a seven years' war to violate that right and suppress that heroic struggle? Could the blood and sufferings of that memorable war result legitimately from any thing but *crime*? And which was guilty of crime, the revolutionists, or the odious government which fought seven years to put them down?

THE CRY OF TREASON.

The cry of treason, that old watchword of tyrants, which is becoming so common of late in our government, and which is heard equally against freedom in Kansas, humanity in Boston, and slavery in South Carolina, is generally indicative of a declining despotism. You all remember the frequency and severity of the prosecutions for this crime, in the expiring days of the oppressive dynasty of James II. And an age which can produce a James on the throne, will generally find a Jeffries for the Bench.

"When a government becomes so corrupt as to forfeit the respect and support of the citizens in whose name it is exercised, and for whose protection and benefit it professes to act, it is very apt to resent disloyalty with the charge of treason and rebellion. But a government which is obliged to resort to the punishment of treason to maintain its authority, is like a man who is always suing for his character.

The secession of South Carolina has been called in Congress "a revolt," and "rebellion." But this charge could come only from a total misapprehension of the nature and object of free government. Revolt is resistance to the supreme authority. But the true idea of free government is, that the people themselves are this supreme authority! How, then, can a whole united people be chargeable with this crime? Can they "revolt" against themselves? The idea is absurd.

Algernon Sidney says, "The whole body of a nation can not be tied to any other obedience than is consistent with the common good, according to their own *judgment*; and having never been subdued, or brought to terms of peace with their magistrates, they can not be said to rebel against *them* to whom they owe no more than seems good to *themselves*, and who are nothing of or by themselves, more than other men."

The sovereign people are competent to any political act whatever that is not unjust. They are, therefore, incapable of the specific crime of "revolt." They may be chargeable with tyranny and usurpation, but of revolt, *never*. And here, again, reappears that old dogma of semi-civilized Europe, the divine right of kings.

It was the odious Lord North who pronounced the brave Montgomery, who fell at the storming of Quebec, a rebel. But it was the illustrious Charles Fox who restored to those noble words: "The term *rebel* is no certain mark of disgrace. All the great asserters of liberty, the saviors of their country, the benefactors of mankind in all ages, have been called rebels. We owe the Constitution which enables us to sit in this house to a rebellion." And I may add, that we owe the very name of liberty, the right of which we now repudiate and trample upon, to a *rebellion*. Such is the deranged and distracted condition of the political elements of our country at the present time, that, while the South are bravely fighting the great battle of national liberty in the name of slavery, the North are maintaining the principles of oriental despotism in the name of Liberty!

Mark! I am not now considering the motive or object of the secession of the Southern States. I am only defending the principle of self-government, or the right of any people to make, alter, or abolish their own government.

I will not say that the governing class of the slave States, by the summary repeal of all civil justice, in the enslavement of the poor, have not justly forfeited their sovereignty; but not to a confederacy which is equally guilty with *themselves*. I will not say that the civilized world should not unite to wipe out chattel slavery, as too inhuman to be tolerated; that they should not unitedly proscribe it, as they do the African slave trade, and inaugurate *true* popular supremacy in its place. But this is not the question between the United States and South Carolina. With us it is not a question of philanthropy, but of aggrandizement. And our motive is the identical passion that made Rome the "mistress of the world," and the tyrant of herself.

THE INTERESTS OF THE OTHER STATES.

We are told, again, that the interests and safety of the remaining States would be endangered by the secession of one or more, and the formation of another confederacy, and that the instinct of self-protection justifies the coercion of a seceding State into the confederacy. But the same argument is pleaded in favor of acquiring Mexico, and it is the identical doctrine of the famous, or rather infamous Ostend manifesto, in relation to the acquisition of Cuba. And Senator Johnson, in his late speech in favor of coercion, even quotes the Ostend manifesto as authority in his favor.—But it is the identical plea of the bandit or common thief. It is a re-appearance of the same old monster, that "*might makes right*." It is well known, that in the contest which resulted in the Presidency of James Buchanan, no terms of condemnation were too severe for his political opponents, to express the sentiments and authors of that famous document. It is true that then it was your bull that gored my ox. But that does not make robbery justifiable. It does not repeal the principles of eternal justice.

What right, I ask, in the name of popular supremacy, has one community to subject the will of another to its own convenience and interests? No, whatever the mission of Mexico may become to England or France, by the violation of each, we have no right to invade, plunder, and subject her, to prevent it. So of Cuba, and so of South Carolina. This selfish plea of national interest and political safety, would annex to our republic every foot of territory on the face of the earth. Why not demand the control of the river St. Lawrence, as well as the Mississippi? Why allow the British flag to float triumphantly in the very heart of this North American continent?

HAVE WE NOT PAID FOR THOSE STATES?

But it is argued that we have paid millions of money to acquire Louisiana, Texas, and Florida; and that therefore we have a pecuniary claim upon them. But if so, this claim must be either of the nature of a debt due from a sovereign State to the general government, or else the general government must have a pecuniary proprietorship in such States. If the former, the debt must be enforced like any other pecuniary obligation between different nations. But if the latter, then those States are mere serfdoms, and not free sovereignties. And the people are not sovereigns, exercising self-government, choosing their own supreme executive; but only serfs of the soil, transferable from one potentate to another for a pecuniary consideration.

But is this so? Is Louisiana a serfdom, sold by the French, and purchased by the American empire for fifteen millions of dollars? and did the lone star republic, after bravely achieving her own independence, ignobly sell herself into everlasting serfdom to the United States, for ten millions? Are we, indeed, going back to the semi-barbarous institution of serfdom, not only for the slaves, but for masters and all?

If Louisiana and Texas, having seceded, shall refuse to pay back what has been advanced for them, I can see no redress but in the lesson it will teach us, not to make investments of such questionable property. Whatever the understanding of the parties was, one thing is certain, that the occupants of the soil were never authorized to sell their natural birthright of political supremacy. If they intended it, the transaction was null and void. No matter what bargain the Fathers made, they could never barter away the natural rights of an unborn and irresponsible posterity. Nor could any action of theirs absolve the acting generation from the responsibility of the faithful exercise of their natural sovereignty. This is a talent which cannot be innocently buried or sold.—God and humanity will hold the people responsible, not that "the republic," so called, "shall receive no detriment," but that human *liberty* "receive no detriment."

I am asked, what if we should advance two hundred millions for the Island of Cuba, and the next day the people, on this doctrine of popular supremacy, should vote to secede? I can only reply that we had better not advance the two hundred millions. Ah! this buying States and territories is not the business of a free government. It is for the human occupants—the people of those territories *themselves* to choose or form their own government. The whole system of purchase is wrong, and of course cannot be reconciled with true political wisdom.

THE POSSESSION OF THE FORTS.

As to the proper possession of the military forts within the boundaries of a seceding State or territory, It seems to me that the foregoing principles apply most definitely. The whole object of those forts is to effect the legitimate purposes of government. That proposition is the key to the whole subject. The true end of government, you know, is protection. While the people of those States or territories are protected by the United States, the United States authorities occupy and garrison those forts at an expense which is defrayed by a revenue voluntarily paid by the people. Here is a fair, legitimate transaction, a *quid pro quo*. A sovereign people paying the United States, by a revenue, for protecting and guarding her national interests. But when any State ceases to require the protection of the general government and proposes to protect herself, and the United States authority ceases, for the want of the requisite consent of the people interested, there is no reason why the general government should retain possession of those forts, but every reason why they should go into the hands of the people of that territory, and for the general government to retain possession of the forts of seceding States, is to put herself in a wrong position and to provoke, protract, and aggravate a bloody struggle, in which she must ultimately yield to the great principle of popular supremacy, or the inalienable right of self government. Her ultimate triumph is impossible. Keep ever in view the only legitimate object of government—the *protection of the people*—and you cannot but recognize the absurdity of forcing protection upon an unwilling people at the point of the bayonet.

THE OATH OF THE PRESIDENT.

It is said that the President, having taken an oath to execute the laws of the United States, is obliged to enforce the revenue laws and other institutions of the general government upon the seceding States.

But these States, by an act of inherent sovereignty, which is above all political compacts, are out of the United States. The Constitution and laws of the general government do not apply to them. They are not now States of the Union. Secession and nullification are very different acts. Let the Northern people discriminate here. *Secession* is an act of sovereignty, to be respected; *nullification*, of rebellion, to be suppressed. The seceding States have acted with marked wisdom and propriety in preceding all their acts of re-called disloyalty by the sovereign act of secession and resumed nationality. Their position is impregnable to Federal authority.

THE PUBLIC PROPERTY AND PUBLIC DEBT.

It is said that the United States built and furnished the forts, dock yards, and custom houses in the seceding States, and, therefore, they are the common property of all of the States. But, it will be remembered that, while the remaining States contributed to the public property of the seceding States so did these in turn contribute to that of the remaining States. If it is found, in fact, that there is within the domain of the seceding States a disproportionate amount of public property, let the matter be adjusted by a rational negotiation.

In reference to this, as well as a proper division of the common public debt, and all other similar questions, the seceding States express the most becoming spirit and honorable intentions, as appears from the following article in the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Southern Confederacy recently established. It is as follows:

"The government hereby instituted shall take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the States forming it, and their late confederates of the United States, in relation to the public property and public debt at the time of their withdrawal from them; these States hereby declaring it to be their wish and earnest desire to adjust everything pertaining to the common property, common liabilities, and common obligations of that Union upon principles of *right, justice, equality, and good faith*."

This certainly looks like the olive branch of peace; and if we decline it, and attempt the fatal policy of coercion, will not the civilized world and the impartial record of history be against us?

EFFECT OF SECESSION ON THE GOVERNMENT.

It is constantly said, particularly by speakers in Congress, that if our government cannot prevent a State from seceding at will, it is no government at all. "But it is forgotten, therefore the true glory of our government—the queen beauty of our system, is, that it ceases with the will of the people. Its true strength lies not in navies and battalions, but in the affections of the people. Numbers in our midst—editors and members of Congress, are vainly boasting that we propose to show the world that we have a government that is strong enough to meet the exigency and to suppress rebellion. But they fail entirely to apprehend and appreciate the true theory of the American system. Theirs is the old European, and not the American, idea of government. Gov. Seward well remarked in his festival speech in New York, that "you cannot force fraternity." Would that this better impulse of his heart and judgment had not been apparently disturbed in his last speech in the United States Senate!

The true strength of a free government—and they are the strongest of all, is in the devoted attachment of its citizen sovereigns. Let this be forfeited and the government falls.

A government which is strong by the military power over its own citizens, is not a free government, but a despotism.

Instead of the peaceful separation of these States being a disgrace to our government in the eyes of the world, it will constitute its all coming time its truest glory, and will demonstrate the infinite superiority of the voluntary system of self-government over the despotic usurpations of the past.

Look at what has already been achieved in the face of prejudice and political antagonism. Where, in the history of the world, is a parallel instance of a government of 31,000,000 of people, dissolved, and that, too, from antagonist feelings, and a new confederacy of six States harmoniously formed, and still a seventh standing independent and alone, and not the first drop of blood shed, and hardly a gun fired?

This wonderful result I ascribe not to the superior intelligence, virtue, and magnanimity of the American people, but to the incomparable superiority of the true theory of our government, viz: the inherent and inalienable right of popular supremacy, or self-government.

OUR PRESENT DUTY AND POLICY.

In the present, extraordinary exigency of the United States government, her true morality is her true policy. We should passively permit the slave States to secede. If it is the expressed will of the sovereign people, we should allow them to go in peace. We ought not only to be just and consistent in conceding the *right* of self-government, but magnanimous towards its exercise. It is eminently proper that the United States government should accede to the proposition of the Provisional Government of the "Confederated States of America" above referred to, in regard to negotiations concerning public property, public debts, and other international relations. And I cannot but recognize and appreciate the magnanimous and exemplary course of South Carolina in *particular*, upon this point. One of her first acts of resumed nationality was the appointment of three commissioners to the general government, to negociate in reference to possession of the forts, and all other matters of conflicting interest between the two powers.

But how have we answered her? Only with threats of coercion, as rebels and traitors; not with kind words of peace, but with armed vessels and frowning forts.

Senator Benjamin makes to you a most eloquent and manly appeal to allow the disenthralled States to go in peace. And I here earnestly proclaim that, *aside from the question of slavery*, not directly involved, the request of that eloquent Senator is only the "golden rule" of conduct. It is only doing as you would be done by.

Senator Davis, in his farewell address to the United States Senate, says, "I feel I but express the desire of the people whom I represent, when I say, I hope, and they hope for those peaceful relations with you, though we must part, that may be mutually beneficial to us in the future."

I must accord to the Southern statesmen, in reference to the present issue, not only a magnanimity of spirit which their Northern antagonists seem to lack, but a far more worthy apprehension of the abstract principles of free government.

Nor can I fail to admire their superior adroitness in managing to divert the national contest from the issue of personal liberty, where they are wrong and indefensible, to one of national independence, where they are right, and sure of the victory. And this doctrine of coercion has facilitated this change of controversy on the part of the South, from a selfish struggle to fortify and extend the institution of negro slavery, to a righteous and dignified contest for nationality; so that, while they are contending for the identical object of the American revolution, we are only maintaining the despotic claims of British royalty.

Thus the South has ever managed to keep their Northern antagonism not only on the defensive, but constantly retreating from untenable positions.

I cannot feel for the South, in reference to this controversy, the contempt which their antagonists seem often to affect. Their course in regard to the right of self government has been sufficiently manly and consistent. True, they have not "asked our consent" to secede; and I thank them for it; for, in so doing, they have maintained your natural rights and mine, as well as their own. Yes! they are bravely vindicating the rights of all nations. By asking the consent of the general government, they would have relinquished the *right* of independence.

Whatever we may think, or say, or *do*, in reference to their domestic policy, the world owes them their gratitude for fighting out the great battle of national sovereignty.

GENUINE ABOLITIONISTS THE FRIENDS OF THE SOUTH.

If I should be accused of being the friend of the South in regard to the present issue, and on all issues their real friend, I shall never deny the charge.

All genuine abolitionists are the true friends of the South. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend." We would snatch the charming serpent from her bosom. We would take from their midst the firebrand of domestic war. We would give her internal peace, domestic security, private and public virtue, and true Christianity.

Those are *false* abolitionists, and selfish as slavery itself, who use the anti-slavery sentiment merely as their political capital; who subordinate and sacrifice the true principles of freedom to party success and personal aggrandizement. Such have no moral power over slavery, and the political power they obtain they use for themselves. There is a difference between the mere *hatred of slavery*, and the genuine *love of liberty*. The former is selfish, controversial, and revengeful; the latter, self-sacrificing, kind, and magnanimous. While the lofty and virtuous sentiment of the genuine love of liberty will never rest until the oppressed is disenthralled, the mere hatred of slavery is satisfied if the oppressor is chastised. The one springs from true philanthropy; the other from political ambition. Be assured, there is no malice or revenge in the genuine, liberty-loving, heart. Its magnanimous purpose is incompatible with such passions.

Ah! the poor, priest-ridden, government-oppressed and self-enthralled world, never knows its true friends until after it has crucified them.

Thus I have endeavored to unfold and present the principles of political philosophy which should guide the nation in this, her most trying exigency.

TWO OPPOSITE COURSES SUGGEST THEMSELVES.

Two opposite courses of national policy suggest themselves in view of the present crisis.

First, that of physical coercion, and

Second, that of passive consent.

Let us examine a moment their relative propriety or impropriety.

First, look at the policy of coercion, I mean only the enforcement of the laws of the United States upon an unwilling or seceding State. To this policy, I suppose, the incoming administration is quite fully committed. The late remarks of the President elect at Indianapolis put the matter beyond ambiguity or dispute—although he strangely denies that this is coercion!

The same policy is prompted by the first impulse of the popular mind. The Union has long been the popular idol of the country, and to touch the Union is to desecrate the household gods of the nation. The rankest despotism over soul and body, has been preferred to the dissolution of the Union. Nay! all political virtues have been sacrificed upon its altar, and even the authority of Jehovah, in the holiest mandates of Christianity, have been trampled upon in obedience to this phantom ideal of the land.

Of course, a dissolution of the Union is popularly regarded as the most impious kind of treason. Hence the popular demand for coercion. Hence, also, the position of the popular leaders.

But let us examine this policy in the light of first principles. Is not the coercion or subjugation of an unwilling State, by the other States, a violation of the natural right of self-government? Who are the natural and legitimate rulers of a given territory—the people of *that* territory, or those of a *foreign* territory?

The advocates of coercion do not, I believe, propose more than to hold the forts, re-take those that are lost, blockade the ports, and collect the revenue of the seceding States.

But would that be effecting the legitimate object of government? Would it be protecting the people of those States? What is it to hold the forts of an unwilling people but military subjugation? What is the collection of a forced tribute but national robbery, or the legitimate spoils of conquest? And what more did Rome to conquered Carthage, and *Alaric in turn to humbled Rome*.

COERCION WOULD PRODUCE CIVIL WAR.

This policy of coercion must inevitably involve the whole country in a most disastrous civil war. It is the most provoking kind of a *casus belli*. It must call out and unite, in a harmonious antagonism in the seceding States, all the national resources of patriotism, pride, and self-interest. Even the whole South will probably be a unit against the policy of coercion. The necessities of her contested rights, even the mother right of self-government, require it. Submission is political suicide.

Nor will there be wanting in the North honest and effective resistance to a policy so utterly subversive of the great principles of popular liberty involved in the constitution of the American government.

Nor can the event be doubtful. The policy of coercion can never triumph. It must yield before the resistless might of great principles. It ensures to the slave States concert—courage—perseverence, and all the advantages which naturally result from a correct political position. And it must throw discord, doubt, and imbecility into the councils and measures of the general government.

In this unnatural attempt to subdue the seceding States and literally put them under tribute, your most formidable enemy will be, not a united and indignant South, in whose well known constitution pride is a stronger principle than life, but it will be the great principles of popular liberty which you challenge to mortal combat. You will war against the principle of your own Immortal Revolution, viz: the right of any people to choose their own government. All the glorious reminiscences of revolutionary valor will swarm around your armies and haunt your council chambers. You will stir the very bones of revolutionary heroes, as your fratricidal armies march across the fields rendered sacred and classic by their death. The tombs of Kosciusko, De Kalb, and LaFayette will become vocal with execrations at your treason against the great principle of independent nationality, to which they generously devoted their lives.

Would it not be far wiser and more statesmanlike—would it not be more consistent with the dignity, and more conducive to the moral power of the government, to consistently concede to States the right of secession and self-government, and magnanimously bid them go in peace, than thus to deny that right, violate the principle of our own Revolution and suicidally attempt the subversion of the government itself, and, after all, be obliged to retreat from our position and yield reluctantly and of necessity the great right of self-government, which we had unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow?

ITS EFFECT ON THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.

But suppose the combined policy of concession and coercion should be successful, and a two-fold cord should thus be formed sufficiently strong to bind the incongruous elements in one nominal confederacy, what must be the effect upon the cause of freedom North and South? On this point I am sure that many of the moderate well-wishers of the slave are deluded.

This policy of coercion, if successful, would inaugurate in the North the very despotism which would most effectively sympathize with and uphold the slavery of the South. It is to my mind the most certain of prospective events, that the spirit of freedom in the North would be subject to embarrassments never before known. The fugitive slave law would be executed by the general government with unwonted rigor. In some of the Northern States legal restraints would probably be imposed upon the tongue and the press. Already has the popular voice gone forth in several of our large cities against the free discussion of the principles of liberty. The public feeling would be alike intolerant of what it calls fanaticism, both North and South. Thus, a despotic popular conservatism would be inaugurated, more fatal to liberty than the bloody satires of Jeffries, and more blighting to manliness than the most imperious despotism.

Such is my apprehension, is a glance at some of the inevitable results of the policy of coercion.

THE OPPOSITE POLICY.

Look, now, a moment at the alternative policy of passive consent. What will be its legitimate effect? First, the general government will be right in principle, and consistent with her own glorious history—itself conclusive of duty.

In the next place, the tendency of seceding will be to terminate that supreme outrage upon human nature, American slavery.

Separate the slave States from the others, and slavery must stand on its own merits—now it *stands on the merits of freedom*. For nearly a century it has been enshrined in the temple of liberty. This has been its sanctuary and security. It has escaped the ban of the civilized world solely by its political connection with the admirable system of the American confederacy.

It is, also, well known that the general government is pledged against any effective measures to bring slavery to a speedy end. In theory and practice, it is the bulwark of chattel slavery—its impregnable fortress.

Senator Johnson of Tennessee, in his earnest speech in favor of coercion, says: "*If the abolitionists wanted to abolish slavery, the first step they would take would be to dissolve the Union.*" Clemens, of the House, says that "secession would crucify slavery." The Marlboro (N. C.) *Patriot* ably argues, that "secession would necessarily make North Carolina a free State;" and Gov. Seward, in his speech of January 13, says: "It is the Union that restrains the opposition to slavery in this country." He says it prevents the development of what he calls the European idea of opposition to slavery, viz: that of "*simple direct abolition*"—effected, if need be by compulsion." The testimony of Gov. Hicks, of Maryland, and ex-Gov. Morehead, of Kentucky, is conclusive to the same point. Thus it is the uncontradicted testimony of our most intelligent statesmen, and those, too, the friends of the Union, that secession must effect or hasten the termination of slavery.

Where, then, does it place the coercionist? Manifestly in direct alliance with the foulest despotism on earth. Coercion, then, is not a harmless error, but a *cruel vice*. It is a two-fold crime, viz: against national independence and personal liberty. It is not only the ally of European despotism, but the support of American slavery. The anti slavery advocates of coercion are surely beside themselves. "They know not what they do." They are not only forging political chains for themselves, but strengthening those which have so long galled their neighbors. They profanely resist the decree of Heaven, which would divorce the unnatural and fatal alliance of slavery and freedom.

ITS EFFECT ON THE UNION.

In the next place, how will secession effect the American Union? I answer, exultingly, it will effect its regeneration and salvation.

It is assumed that secession is the destruction of the government. The distinguished Seward assumes it, in his speech of January 12, when he exclaims, "I feel sure that the hour has not come for this great nation to fall." He says, also, that "dissolution would not only arrest, but extinguish the greatness of our country!" O! the thraldom of mind to matter! Is it true that our national greatness consists in our physical proportions—our number of States and extent of territory? Then semi-barbarous Russia is our superior, and degraded China to be envied by us. The assumption is unworthy of a true statesman.

The true greatness of a nation consists in the perfection of her institutions, and in whatever makes her people magnanimous, prosperous, and happy. How large was Athens, whose national glory will never fade?

If the secession of a State is the destruction of the Union, what is the addition of a State? Did the annexation of Texas make us any more of a Union than before, and will her secession make us any less? Suppose the fifteen slave States *all* secede, we shall then be one-half more in number than when the Union was formed, and those, too, with the infinite superiority of being the whole nineteen free and homogeneous, instead of being twelve out of the old thirteen slave States. This would be an immeasurable advance from 1776 to 1861.

So far from its being a shock to the cause of freedom throughout the world, it would be the unanswerable triumph of the *great American experiment*. All reproaches for our political inconsistency and national hypocrisy would be hushed, and the true spirit of liberty and democratic equality would everywhere break forth in shouts of admiration and joy. Such would be the legitimate and happy effects of the secession of the slave States upon the American Union.

Who then, I ask, is the genuine friend of the American Union? Is it the managing conservative, who bolsters up with new guaranties a monstrous system of political crime, which is the sole cause of disunion?

Is it those who say "a house divided against itself cannot stand," and yet continue in a confirmed condition, the sole cause of that fatal discord?

I say, on the other hand, it is those who, confiding in principle, and also viewing its natural results to be a substantial and permanent Union, have the courage and self sacrifice to allow right principles to operate, and things to find their true level.

The mass of Union savers are Union destroyers, on the principle of philosophy, that "whoso saveth his life shall lose it."

On the other hand, the true friend of the Union acts upon that sublime and heroic principle of virtue, "whoso loseth his life shall save it."

To peaceably and passively allow secession, is the only possible salvation of the American Union.

THE SECEDING STATES.

As to the near future of the seceding States, let us not yet lift the curtain. Let them complete, in national solitude, the fearful tragedy of negro slavery! Let us be kind, magnanimous, and pitiful to them; but uncompromisingly true to humanity. And when they shall have drank sufficiently the dregs of national woe, and been filled with their own devices; and when, under the disciplining effects of their own backslidings, they shall have put away slavery as both the curse and crime of a nation, and inaugurated true and impartial democracy, then shall we hail with unalloyed delight the "reconstruction," as a harmonious sisterhood, of those now divided States, the only reconstruction of which the nature of the case admits, and the only one which is worthy of that Almighty Providence whose hand is so visible in the momentous events of the day.

From the Cincinnati Commercial.

THE RAID OF OFFICE HUNTERS.

The news from the city of Washington of vast multitudes of place hunters congregating there, is extremely disgusting and almost disheartening. Certainly there can be few things more discouraging to the patriot, than the contemplation of the eager desire which pervades all classes of our countrymen, to be the servants of the Government. It seems that under our "Republican form of Government," we have not been cultivating that self respect which would lead a citizen to prefer a modest independence in a homely but permanent business, to temporary employment in some public office, where there is fawning without thrift, and hypocrites and sycophants have the rankest and most offensive development. And so fatal is the absence of the spirit of personal independence in citizens, that when it is wanting we may despair of the Republic.

It is almost impossible just now for a decent man to get to see the President of the United States. He is surrounded by a hungry horde of seekers of office, and beset in all his outgoings and incomings, his uprisings and downsittings, by the most impertinent and importunate of the horde. His time is precious to the country. The honor and material interests of the nation demand of him the clear-headed consideration of the most delicate and difficult problems ever before a President, but he is remorselessly victimized by the party vampires, and the time and attention that belongs to the country are occupied in squabble between office hunters who are in person and politics unutterably contemptible.

About each Cabinet officer, there is a lesser circle of blood-suckers. Their time is occupied with the welfare of petty factions, the bickerings of jealous competitors for appointments. And each one of a swarm that gets an appointment is beset by a similar swarm of beggars for subordinate positions. It seems sometimes as if a majority of the people would be glad to enter the public service, and putting one party out of power and another in, were only driving the swarm of flies already gorged from the poor fox, to give a hungrier swarm a chance. Such an evidence of the demoralization of the people is most lamentable, and ominous. The exhibition at Washington is disgraceful to the party in power, to the people of the United States, and to human nature itself.

The task would not be difficult to trace the disruption of the Union to the passion for Federal office. It is notorious that the Federal office holders of the disaffected States have been the leaders in the secession conspiracies, and it cannot be questioned but they were in many, perhaps a majority of cases led on to treason by their lust for office. If a National Convention can be assembled, one of the great works to be done to placate the country, and to dignify the Government, should be the lopping off of the Presidential patronage. As the case stands, the existence of so enormous a mass of patronage in the hands of the Chief Executive, is incompatible with the proper execution of the higher duties of his office, the respectability of the Government, and the self respect of the people.

From the New York Tribune.

THE POSITION OF MAJOR ANDERSON.

SIR: The entire force of enlisted men under the command of Major Anderson, is about sixty-four. Allowing for the various details, not more than enough men to work rapidly and continuously four guns are left. Working an eight-inch columbiad is exceedingly fatiguing, owing to the great weight of both gun and shot, and the men require frequent relief. Now, the fire of four guns would have to be maintained steadily for several days, to have any great effect on Fort Moultrie or the batteries at a distance of a mile or more from Fort Sumter. The power of resistance of the iron-clad battery on Cumming's Point, twelve hundred yards distant, is yet an unsolved problem; but should it prove shot-proof, it would of itself occupy the entire attention of the garrison, leaving the gunners at Fort Moultrie free to practice with their columbiads at the embrasures of Fort Sumter, and the mortar batteries to burn the barracks and drive the men from the barbette guns. It could scarcely be expected that no one in the fort should be hurt, while there is not a man to be spared. When, two weeks after the occupation of Fort Sumter, the Star of the West was driven away, Major Anderson gave as an excuse for standing still, while the American flag was outraged and the lives of 250 men were put in jeopardy under his eyes, that he had no guns mounted which could reach the battery on Morris Island.

Yet, before that time, Mr. Holt says the Major had advised the War Department that he had no need of re-enforcements. Did he, with his eyes thus rudely opened to his weakness, change the tenor of his dispatches? No; the invariable burden has been the same: "I can maintain myself here without re-enforcements." He knew well, no one better, that Mr. Buchanan would clutch eagerly at any pretext to avoid offending the secessionists, and took care to furnish him the above excuse, while the enemy built battery after battery for the express purpose of cutting off communication with the sea, and making the re-enforcement of the fort a difficult and, probably, bloody enterprise. Now he writes to the new Administration, exaggerating the dangers of his position, stating that his supplies are running short, and that it will take 10,000 men to open the communication, with the evident purpose of frightening the President into giving up the fort. His whole course has so plainly shown a far greater sympathy with, and desire to be useful to, the insurgents, than any endeavor to do his duty to the United States, that there is no man who would be more warmly greeted in Charleston than he. Yet this man, who stood calmly by and saw the Star of the West fired on, who has, day after day, for two months, seen men and munitions of war, to be used against his country, pass close under his guns without a remonstrance or a threat; whose whole course has indeed only to make the surrender of the fort sure and bloodless; who thinks the demands of the Gulf States just, and sympathizes with them in all their acts; this man, it is now proposed to raise over the heads of fifty of his seniors, many of them tried and capable officers, and promote three grades to the rank of Brigadier-General. As this will keep up the old proportion of three Southern Generals to one Northern, our compromisers and submissionists will now have a fine opportunity to save the Union once more.

ONE WHO SEES THE FACTS.

A PREDICTION.—A special dispatch from Washington to the Charleston Mercury, says: "Ex-Attorney General Black remarked yesterday that he would not be surprised to see President Lane and lady dispensing the hospitalities at the White House in less than ninety days."

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

"PROVIDENCE HAS MADE HE AN ACTOR AND SLAVERY AN OUTLAW."—John Brown of Ossawatomie.

SALEM, OHIO, MARCH 23, 1861.

TO NON-SUBSCRIBERS WHO RECEIVE THE BUGLE.

Non-subscribers need not decline receiving the Bugle, fearing that they will be called upon to pay for it. We send no paper—except gratis copies—unless paid for in advance. So we say to each of the above class, the paper is either sent to you as a gratuity by the publishers, or else paid for in your name by some friend.

FROM ANOTHER STAND-POINT.

The *Liberator*, in commenting upon Lincoln's Inaugural address, says,

"To break up the Union on a pretence or a suspicion of foul play,—perfidiously seize fortifications, arsenals, and millions of other property belonging to the United States,—obstruct the collection of revenue, or use it for treasonable purposes,—fire upon a national steamship, and endeavor to sink it, while obeying legitimate orders,—strike down the American flag, and run up a State flag of defiance in its stead,—these are crimes of gigantic magnitude, which admit of no extenuation or atonement; and he who, intelligently conversant with them, does not brand them as the blackest treason, is himself a traitor at heart, and doubly to be detested if he pretends to have any concern for the preservation of the Union."

The deeds characterized as above, would appear in a somewhat different light if viewed from another stand-point. Suppose that instead of ignoring State Sovereignty, we recognize it, and freely admit what Disunion abolitionists have always contended for—the *right* of a State to secede. This right being admitted, it is not for Massachusetts or Ohio to authoritatively indicate to South Carolina or Georgia as to how much provocation will justify them in seceding, they may leave the Union "on a pretence or a suspicion of foul play," or for any other reason they choose to assign, or for no reason. None of these things affect the Right of Secession, a right for which all Disunion abolitionists have consistently contended until the Southern States have presumed to exercise it, not for the destruction of slavery, but for its perpetuation.

The property which belonged to the United States, in the event of a dissolution of the Union, would belong to the respective States in their just proportion, and the Northern States would actually have no more right of property in Southern forts and arsenals, than would the Southern States have in Northern forts and arsenals. The Confederate States wish to arrange with the old government for an equitable division of property, and for the assumption of their portion of the public debt.—What proposition could be fairer than this?

Had the abolitionists succeeded—as they hoped to do—in inducing the North to withdraw from the Union, we can hardly imagine that the receding Northern States would have permitted the South to retain and garrison with hostile forces the navy yards at Charlestown, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia, and to possess the Arsenal at Springfield and at other Northern points, but strongly suspect they would have taken possession of all Northern fortifications, manufactories of arms, and deposits of public supplies that could otherwise be used against them to compel them to remain in the Union: and such act would not by the usage of nations, be regarded as "perfidious," or "a crime of gigantic magnitude."

South Carolina, believing she had a right to secede, seceded: and as a Sovereign State it was a duty she owed to herself to obtain possession of all fortifications which she justly supposed would, or might be used to obstruct her in the exercise of that right. Having assumed the position of a Sovereign State unconnected in Federal Union with any others, pray, why should she not obstruct the collection of revenue of her people by another government, collect it herself according to the rates of her own Tariff, and use it, not for treasonable purposes, but to defend herself against a government that had assumed the right to make her a tributary province?

That she should "fire upon a national steamship and endeavor to sink it, while obeying legitimate orders," is neither surprising nor unjustifiable in the estimation of those who as fully admit the right of a Southern as of a Northern State to secede, and who remember that that steam ship came to increase the facilities and the troops of another and as opposing government to bombard Charleston, and that said steamer was not in the fort held by the United States, but in the waters of Charleston harbor, where she came contrary to the wishes and against the express command of those in possession.

Nor is it remarkable that a Southern State, having exercised the right of secession, should "strike down the American flag, and run up a State flag of defiance in its stead." Had Massachusetts seceded she would probably have done the same thing, for it would be acting under false colors for any seceding State to retain a flag that was none of hers, and would be an act worthy of censure.

Reviewing the doctrine of Secession which, as a Disunion abolitionist, we have endeavored to illustrate and advocate for many years, recognising the Sovereignty of each State and its consequent right to withdraw from the Union with or without cause, and believing we are as "intelligently conversant" with the measures of Southern Secessionists, as we think we are with the wishes of Northern Anti-Slavery Secessionists, we are not able, from our anti-slavery stand-point, to regard them as "crimes of gigantic magnitude, which admit of no extenuation or atonement," nor can we "brand them as the blackest treason," using the phrase in its ordinary sense, nor do we believe we "are a traitor at heart" because we recognize the Sovereignty of the State as legitimate, rather than the Despotism of a Central Government.

And in maintaining the right of Southern States to secede as well as Northern States, we no more endorse as defensible, or reasonable, or just the plea which they urge as the cause for secession, than we endorse the intemperance of a man who spends his wages in liquor, because we contend that he, as well as the sober man is entitled to a day's wages for a day's work, and that, without reference to the reason that induces him to work, or the manner in which he spends his wages.

"A NORTHERN PLEA FOR THE RIGHT OF SECESSION."—We hope none of our readers will fail to peruse with care the article which occupies so large a portion of our present number. The Plea is forcible, the arguments fairly stated, and the conclusions legitimately drawn. After having read it, will not each subscriber circulate it among his neighbors, ask their candid attention to it, and invite them to subscribe for a paper that seeks to do justice to all, that commends the Right wherever found, and condemns the Wrong by whomsoever upheld? The position of the Bugle is a peculiar one; we know of no other paper, either in the South or in the North, that stands where it does upon the question of Slavery and Secession; and we trust that those who unite with us in condemning the one, and in upholding the other, will spare no effort to enlarge the circle of its influence by increasing the number of its subscribers.

WHICH IS WORSE?

A New Jersey Quaker writing to a friend in that State in relation to compromise measures for the salvation of the Union, says,

"It is astonishing to see that any man, especially a Friend or Quaker, should or would compromise or make concessions to Bandit—Traitor—Robbers—I might say Pirates. Did any good ever come of a man's compromising a truth? Has not every compromise made with slavery been the means of demand for other troubles?

"Suppose that Friends in the early days of their persecutions had yielded to the demands of the nation and priesthood of England and other places, in order to save the priesthood (Slavery) from "a general chase," would they have ever succeeded in establishing the glorious principles for which so many have suffered and died?

"Now, my friend, when we compromise a principle we are done! cursed at both ends and damned in the middle! (it is a law of the Universe, there is no avoiding it). Such will be the case of the Republican party if they succumb in the least degree.

"If you are wrong, why then acknowledge it, and back down like honest men, but never concede a fundamental principle, it will always produce trouble. Sooner or later it will bring you under the domination of a pro-slavery political quagmire reeking with Democratic filth. I believe as a party your greatest enemies are now of your own household. I would sooner these United States should be torn in ten thousand fragments than yield the width of one hair for the cxcession of that sum of all villanies—Slavery!"

How strange it is that any sane man can be so vehemently opposed to the *extension* of slavery, and yet consent to its existence and its perpetuity in fifteen States of the Union; denouncing all compromise of principle as a curse, and yet voting for a President who swears to protect slavery where it is, and the first effort of whose Inaugural is to assure the South of the safety of her pet institution, and his purpose to see to the due execution of the fugitive slave law.

The conclusion drawn from the argument of the New Jersey Quaker by himself is this: Don't compromise with Bandits, Traitors, Robbers and Pirates either to extend or protect slavery, to put down insurrections or catch fugitives.

THE "COLD WATER TICKET" ILLUSTRATED.

If the bills for the receptions and entertainments of Lincoln on his recent Presidential Progress could be collected, with each item separately given, their publication would furnish a valuable document which could be alike used by the advocates of Temperance, and the opponents of enormous taxation. Publicity has been given to the following charges from the proprietors of the Delavan House, the former Temperance Hotel at Albany, and which is probably but a specimen of many others.

DELAVAN HOUSE, Albany,
February, 22d, 1861.

The State of New York:
To T. ROSSEER & SON.

One day's board of Hon. A. Lincoln and suite, parlors, dinners, and breakfast in parlor,	$376 50
Wines and liquors,	357 00
Segars,	16 00
Telegraphs,	1 15
Congress Water, $2 50; baggage, $4 87;	7 37
Carriages,	12 00
Sundry broken articles—stoves, chairs, etc.,	150 00
Total,	$1,120 00

Of the $1120 which will be paid out of taxes raised "for County and State purposes," $373—one third of the whole—was for "Wines, Liquors, and Segars," the first two items footing up $357! With such an amount expended in liquor it is no wonder that so much uproariousness prevailed that it necessitated a closing charge in the bill for "Sundry broken articles, stoves, chairs, &c," the damage to which was estimated at $150.

Any one who reads the above bill, in connection with the remembrance of the fact that the election of Lincoln and Hamlin was urged by some as a Temperance measure, and that such headed the ticket with the seductive caption of "Cold Water Ticket" will be very apt to conclude that what Artemus Ward calls "a kapetal goak" has been perpetrated by somebody.

NOT SETTLING IT MUCH.—It will be seen by a letter from our friend Gordon that he yet remains a "fugitive from justice," and expects to continue in Canada until our national difficulties are settled, and will then return and stand trial under a Republican administration. Unless in the settlement of our difficulties all the slave states slough off, and leave us with proper material out of which to construct a free Republic, we fear his fate would be no better than under the Democratic regime.—After witnessing the alacrity with which Cleveland Republicans do the deeds of Southern blood-hounds, we should expect them to be ready to do any other dirty work required as a propitiatory sacrifice to the slave power. And if the heaviest fine and the longest imprisonment permitted by law be considered necessary for the benefit of the Republican party, our friend may fully expect to be then sentenced, for the officials will not even pretend to be governed by principle, but will shape their course by policy—blinded and mistaken though that policy be.

For the Anti-Slavery Bugle.

ST. THOMAS, C. W., March 14, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: You will see by the date of this letter that I am still in Canada. My object in remaining is, to delay until the contest between the States assumes some decided form; and especially until a Republican Marshal is appointed for the Northern District of Ohio. As soon as this takes place my intention is to return, and meet the trial without waiting to be arrested. Whether we shall gain anything by running the trial into the new administration will be doubtful, but we certainly cannot lose much.

If a compromise should be effected, it will inevitably be consummated by a mutual agreement to perpetuate the unfathomed villany, not only of the robbery of 4,000,000 of slaves of every right under heaven, but also to persecute to the extent of their power, all who give them "aid and comfort." And even if the northern slave States remain in the Union, we will probably be required to grind in the prison house to appease Northern Hunkers, and make sport for Southern Philistines. Lincoln's inaugural is a mixture of very thin gruel for anti-slavery Republicans, whilst he sheeps down to the Southern traitors—begs them to come back and rule and ride him and the North as they were wont to do in times past, and disclaims either right or wish to interfere with their continued robbery of God's poor. Yet he is "honest old Abe!" "When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentest with him."

Were it not that I have been kept from attending to the duties of my field of labor, and deprived of the enjoyments of home, my Winter's exile would not have been unpleasant. I trust my labors, in an humble way, have been useful. I find quite as much hatred of colored people, and pro-slavery prejudice in parts of this Province, as in the States. The most of this is in the Western Peninsula. It is the same here in its manifestation. The lowest and most mean and degraded class of white people, excel in abuse and hatred of the black man. If you meet a selfish and inhumanly mean man of property, or a poor, worthless, lazy loafer, who can swear and hide a great deal of whiskey, you will invariably discover that a leading article in his creed is to hate "niggers." In many of the churches, the subject of slavery is seldom heard or discussed. The proper notice of this subject, together with the breadth of principle and specific applications of a free gospel, common to anti-slavery ministers, will strike many a Canadian congregation with quite as much novelty as it will the churches with us in the States. In addition to such labors I have given anti-slavery lectures, and where opportunities offered addressed the colored people themselves. In their own meetings they get little of the kind of instruction that they really need. Much of what they receive consists in unmeaning rhapsodies and frothy declamations. What they need is, something to encourage and stimulate them to daily improvement—constant industry of mind and body, and to urge them to the prosecution of high and noble purposes. The prejudice under which they are crushed they can never fight down, nor scold down—they must live it down. They need to aim at such characters as men may hate, but cannot despise. So that as Daniels enemies could only find occasion against him concerning the law of his God, it may only be found against them for the hue of their skin. They are doing as well here, all things considered as could reasonably be expected. Of course they are generally inferior in condition to the white people, and are found in all the aspects between theft and squalid misery. In Toronto last winter, (I was told,) John Anderson was the only colored man in their jail. In Chatham they now hold the balance of political power between the parties, and are courted by office seekers. In Windsor, Sandwich, and Amherstburg, they are numerous and improving. In Buxton they are doing very well. Buxton enjoys the labors of that large-hearted, and noble man—Rev. Wm. King. He is, (I understand,) the "Clayton of Mrs. Stowe's "Dred." He owned fifteen slaves in Louisiana—emancipated them and brought them to Buxton—gathered a colony—organized a church, and opened a school, and has devoted his fortune, life, and talents, to their interests. Several black men in that neighborhood hold civil offices. Mr. King with his fine personal appearance, agreeable manners, thorough Scotch education, and fine talents, might fill any pulpit in the Province, yet like his divine master he devotes himself to God's poor. I thought I had made sacrifices for the black man, but they dwarf and shrivel away when compared with his. Yours truly

GEO. GORDON.

MRS. GAINS' CASE SETTLED AT LAST—GOV. DENNISON'S "NOSE SNUBBED" BY THE SUPREME COURT.

WASHINGTON, March 14.—In the Supreme Court to-day, Associate Justice Wayne announced his decision in the case of Mrs. Maria C. Gaines. He said it was of long standing and heretofore of doubtful result. The record covered three thousand pages, and at least eight or ten points had been ruled by the Court with regard to it. At last it had been brought to a conclusion. The decision was, that she is the only legitimate child of Daniel Clark and his universal legatee under his late will, and as such, entitled to all the property, real and personal of which Mr. Clark died possessed, and the defendant, Hennings, having purchased certain property with full notice of the nullity of the title under which he held it, she is entitled to recover, immediately, the possession of it, with the profits. The Court said that measures would be at once taken to enforce the decree, and Judge Wayne said, in conclusion, the future writer of the history of jurisprudence will be obliged to register this celebrated case as the most remarkable.

Chief Justice Taney delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court to day in the matter of the Commonwealth of Kentucky against the Governor of Ohio, Dennison, deciding it a case of original jurisprudence, and, in effect, of one State against another, and therefore, the court has jurisdiction under the Constitution. It is a case to compel the Governor of Ohio, by a writ of Mandamus, to surrender a fugitive from Kentucky. The Court says that the demanding State has a right to have every such fugitive delivered up. That the State of Ohio has no right to enter into the question as to whether the act of which the fugitive stands accused is criminal or not in Ohio, provided it was a crime in Kentucky, and it is the duty of the Government of Ohio to deliver up upon any proper proofs that the act charged is a crime by the laws of Kentucky; that the act of 1793 determines that evidence is to be submitted to the State of Ohio; that the duty of the Governor is ministerial only, like that of Sheriff or Marshal, and the Court appeals to his good faith in the discharge of a Constitutional duty, for the reason that Congress cannot impose any Federal duty on the officers of a State, and that where such officers are called upon by any act of Congress to perform such duty, it conceives of good sense and good faith on their part; and on those grounds the writ of Mandamus is refused. What will Dennison do?

☞On Thursday evening the 14th, Mrs. J. ELIZABETH JONES spoke to a large audience, on the temperance question. The address has been highly complimented, and, doubtless, was among the very best that has been delivered on that subject during the present series of meetings.—*Salem Republican.*

From the New York Herald.

SAYING AND DOING.

There is a world of difference between talking and acting. It was an easy matter for our republican organs and indignant patriots to denounce Mr. Buchanan as a coward and traitor, a timid old dotard, an old granny, afraid of his own shadow, and to say that without difficulty he might have thrown reinforcements and supplies into Fort Sumter; he ought to have done it at all hazards and regardless of costs, and that he ought to have arrested those South Carolina treaty commissioners as traitors, and that "Honest Abe Lincoln" would soon make these traitors and rebels understand that we have a government; but "Old Abe," when invested with the responsibility, seems to come to pretty much the same way of thinking as "Old Buck," to-wit, that "circumstances" must be considered. Hence Mr. Lincoln begins to suspect that this legacy of Fort Sumter is not worth holding; and that when a piece of federal property has ceased to be of any earthly value to the government, it is inexpedient to plunge into a civil war to retain it.

After the marvellous escape by the light of the moon, of Abraham Lincoln from Harrisburgh, through the imaginary line of Southern conspirators intent upon cutting him off from Washington, Senator Wigfall, of Texas, gave it as his opinion that there would be no war; that a President elect who, in a Scotch cap and a long military cloak, could thus slip through the fingers of his enemies, must be a man of peace; and not "a man who can look on blood and carnage with composure." We now suspect that the Texas Senator was more than half right; for even that terrible fighting man, Greely, is apologizing for the expected evacuation of Fort Sumter. We have been urging this very thing for some time, as a step demanded by every consideration of peace and common sense; and when the administration begins to act accordingly, there is still some hope for the country.

ANDERSON—SUMTER.

It is not easy to reconcile the opinions and statements made on the subject. Some writers say that the obstructions in Charleston harbor render a naval defence impracticable. Yet the British Consul lately notified his government that the obstructions were removed. When Maj. Anderson left Fort Moultrie, and went to Fort Sumter, on an island, it was said that his new position removed all embarassments arising from a land force of insurgents. But, now, it is said that 10,000 *land* troops would be necessary to defend him. Up to the time of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, it was said that provisions could easily be supplied by water, and Mr. Buchanan was blamed for not doing it. Now it is said that this cannot be done. One reason now urged against attempts to retain Fort Sumter is, that it would produce a collision, and open civil war. When Buchanan urged the same reason he was called imbecile Mr. Lincoln's administration, it is said, is without the support of any act of Congress authorizing and providing for the onset. So also was Mr. Buchanan's. Mr. Buchanan's policy, which was severely condemned by Republicans, was to avoid a collision at all events. Is Mr. Lincoln's policy essentially different in this particular?—*Principia.*

THE CASE OF CARL SCHURZ.

Mr. Seward's unexpected objection to the appointment of foreign born citizens to diplomatic posts in Europe, is likely to have serious consequences. The different aspirants of German birth are said to be determined to make Schurz's appointment to Sardinia a test question, and are prepared to withdraw from the field in a body in case of his discomfiture, and bring the matter before their countrymen throughout the North at the earliest possible opportunity. They are evidently resolved to hold the new Administration to its promises and will not submit to any proscriptive line of policy.

It is thought by many that Mr. Seward's unfriendly attitude towards the German leaders will seriously affect the spring elections in the North-western cities, in nearly all of which the Germans hold the balance of power.

The President is known not to share Mr. Seward's view on the subject. He informed several of the aspirants, within the last two days, that he was anxious for a perfect equality of rights in the distribution of offices: that the objections raised by the Secretary of State had never occurred to him, but that, as the appointment came within the department of Mr. Seward, he was yet obliged to refer the matter to him for ultimate decision.

The fact has been made known to the President that Carl Schurz expected pay in hard cash, at the time, for all his speeches in the late campaign, and that his assumption now that he is to be again paid with a first class European mission, is considered by leading Republicans as impudent, in bad taste, and selfish.—[N. Y. Herald.

EXPATRIATION OF A FANATIC.

We presume that the banishment of J. R. Giddings to Canada as Consul-General, will give satisfaction to the Democratic journalists, who have so long regarded him as the source of all our woes.

We know that it will deprive them of cherished opportunities, and that in the absence of the malign Joshua, they will have some ado to make out that the Republicans are all that they have believed Giddings to be. But they will cheerfully make this sacrifice from motives of patriotism, and if they should at any time be greatly reduced in ideas—a possible contingency—they can report the consul general to be engaged in the formation of an army of colored refugees for the invasion of these States. This alarm will have a certain novelty, and may be raised, whenever John Brown makes a visit to Canada. It will have an advantage over the charges of abolitionism and negro equality, which we fear are somewhat stale.

For our own part, we rejoice in the old Joshua's exile, and trust he may live many years to enjoy his fat salary, and his residence in the beautiful city of Montreal.—*State Journal.*

IBERIA COLLEGE.—This institution is beautifully located at Iberia, Morrow County, in one of the most eligible and healthful situations in Ohio; and being surrounded by an intelligent, moral and religious community, it offers rare inducements to parents and guardians, to place the youth under their care in this institution, where they will receive a thorough training, both mental and moral. The College this year is divided into three terms, two of twelve, and one of sixteen weeks. Tuition from $14,00 to $20,00 per year. The spring session will commence on the first Wednesday of April. Mr. Hoss of Illinois has taken the boarding house belonging to the institution, and will furnish students, male and female, with board at $1,50 per week, including lodging and room rent. Mr. Hoss has had some experience in the business, and may be relied on to keep a good house.

Receipts for the Bugle, from Mar. 11 to Mar. 18.

☞Subscribers whose names are receipted below will be furnished with a marked copy of this notice, so they will have no excuse for not examining their receipt, and ascertaining whether it be correct. If incorrect, we will rectify the error if prompt notice is given; but you must not ask us to correct mistakes made in the acknowledgment of receipts, if you suffer months to elapse before notifying us of the same.

Lot Holmes, Marietta,	$1 50	863
Isaac Johnson, "	1 50	856
B. F. Morris, Harrisville,	50	805
Nathan Wright, "	50	808
J. B. Lyon, Cleveland,	1 50	856
James Christian, "	1 50	858
F. H. Morris, "	1 50	856
C. C. Post, Newburg,	75	830
Cumley Tomlinson, Harrisville,	1 00	864

TREASURER'S REPORT.

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Orland, Indiana,	$2 05
Lexington, "	2 05
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Colon, "	1 00
Needham, School-house, Michigan,	1 00
Red School-house, "	2 00
Rome, Indiana,	1 00
Salem, "	1 00
Turky Creek, Indiana,	1 87
Hale's Corners, "	60
Thomas Chandler, Indiana,	2 00
BY PARKER PILLSBURY.	
Friends in Sterling, Illinois,	10 00
Prairieville, "	2 40
Hickory Grove, "	2 50
Sterling, "	1 25
Dixon, "	1 00
Nora, "	3 00
Waukegan, Wisconsin,	1 00
Ann Arbor, Michigan,	6 00
Lavonia, "	5 00
Farmington, "	1 50
Toledo, Ohio,	0 85
Henry Powell,	5 00
By M. R. Robinson,	3 85

J. M'MILLAN, Treasurer.

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Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad
WINTER ARRANGEMENT.

GOING WEST.

Mail Train leaves Pittsburgh,	1.40 a m
" " " Columbiana,	4.44 a m
" " " Salem,	5.11 a m
" " " Alliance,	6.10 a m
Arriving in Chicago,	11.00 p m
Express Train leaves Pittsburgh,	1.40 p m
" " " Columbiana,	4.34 p m
" " " Salem,	5.01 p m
" " " Alliance,	6.55 p m
Arriving in Chicago,	10.40 a m
Alliance Accommodation leaves Pittsburgh,	1.50 p m
" " " Columbiana,	5.52 p m
" " " Salem,	6.20 p m
Arrive at Alliance,	8.00 p m

GOING EAST.

Mail Train leaves Chicago,	6.50 p m
" " " Alliance,	11.30 a m
" " " Salem,	12.25 p m
" " " Columbiana,	12.50 p m
Arrives in Pittsburgh,	3.40 p m
Express Train leaves Chicago,	6.10 a m
" " " Alliance,	10.30 p m
" " " Salem,	11.09 p m
" " " Columbiana,	11.35 p m
Arrives in Pittsburgh,	2.30 a m
Alliance Accomodation leaves Alliance,	5.50 a m
" " " Salem,	6.45 a m
" " " Columbiana,	7.26 a m
Arrives in Pittsburgh,	11.40 a m

CLEVELAND AND PITTSBURGH RAIL ROAD TIME TABLE.

Commencing Monday, Nov. 26th, 1860:—Trains leave Alliance as follows:

GOING NORTH.

Mail, 5.38, a m, arrive in Cleveland, 7.40, a m
Express, 5.33, p m, arrive in Cleveland, 7.30 p m

GOING SOUTH.

Mail, 11.42 a m, arrive in Pittsburgh 4.00 p m
Mail, 11.42 a m, arrive in Wheeling 6.20 p m
Express, 10.42 p m, arrive in Pittsburgh, 2.40 a m
Express, 10.42 p m, arrive in Wheeling 6.25 a m

RETURNING TRAINS LEAVE

Cleveland,	9.40 a m and	8.45 p m
Pittsburgh,	1.40 a m and	1.40 p m
Wheeling,	10.50 a m and	9.50 p m

J. N. McCULLOUGH, Prest.

F. R. MYERS, Gen. Ticket Agt.

PROCLAMATION.

The qualified Voters of the Incorporated Village of Salem, Columbiana County, Ohio, are hereby notified to meet on Monday, the 1st day of April, 1861, at the Town Hall, in said Village, between the hours of 6 o'clock A. M. and 6 P. M. of said day, and then and there to elect the following officers, for said Village, for the ensuing year, to wit: One Mayor, One Recorder, Five Trustees, One Treasurer and One Marshall.

ALFRED HEACOCK *Mayor.*

March 20, 1861.

GEO. W. MANLY,

ARTIST, Schilling's Block, Main street, Salem, Ohio.

The largest and best assortment of Cases to be found in this section of Ohio.

Salem, June, 1860.

WEST AND WILSON, DOUBLE THREAD *FAMILY*

SEWING MACHINE,

PRICE THIRTY DOLLARS.

ALL MACHINES WARRANTED!!

FOR SALE AT

M. R. ROBINSON'S

HAT AND CAP STORE.

BOTANIC Medicines for Sale!

THE subscriber offers for sale her entire stock of medicines, together with all the fixtures for preparing the same, at her residence on high street, Salem, Ohio. C. L. CHURCH.

March 1st 1860.

Ambrotypes, Photographs, and Ivorytypes.

Taken in the latest improvements of the Art, at *RED-BOARD PARLORS*, at the New York

PICTURE GALLERY,

IN HOAGLAND'S BLOCK, UP

L. B. SILVER.

☞*SINGERS world renowned Lock Stitch* SEWING MACHINES, *combining both sides alike, and Sewing Machine Needles, with Thread and Oil, kept for sale.*

Salem, March 23, 1860.

UNDERTAKING.

All kinds of COFFINS furnished at short notice, and everything appertaining to the business attended to, by

ROBERT HOLE.

Salem, Oct. 27, 1860.

SALEM

SOAP & CANDLE WORKS.

H. P. ADAMS & SON,

CORNER OF MAIN AND LISBON STREETS,

MANUFACTURERS OF

Every variety of Washing and Toilet Soaps, and Refined Tallow Candles.

☞Cash paid for Tallow; Grease taken in exchange for Candles or Soap.

Salem, Dec. 15, 1860.

JAMES BARNABY,

ATTORNEY AT LAW,

SALEM, COLUMBIANA CO., OHIO.

Office over Chessman & Wright's Hardware and Drug Store.

HARRINGTON!

Is for sale by

MRS. H. F. M. BROWN,

288 Superior St., Cleveland, O.

Price, $1.25. Postage 25 cents.

BOOKS AT COST.

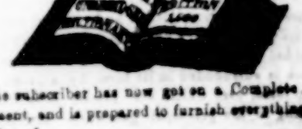
Mrs H. F. M. Brown, 288 Superior St., [a few doors east of the Public Square,] Cleveland, O., has for sale a general assortment of

ANTI-SLAVERY BOOKS,

Among which are:

Shamah in Pursuit of Freedom, $1.25. Jerrod Redpath's Life of John Brown, $1.00. Helper's Impending Crisis, $1.00. Unconstitutionality of Slavery, by Lysander Spooner, 50 cents. Echoes of Harper's Ferry, $1.25, and a variety of other Books, all of which will be sold 30 per cent less than the retail price.

NEW BOOKS:



The subscriber has now got on a Complete Assortment, and is prepared to furnish everything in the line of

BOOKS, STATIONERY, AND WALL-PAPER!

Foley's Celebrated Gold Pens,

All Warranted to give Satisfaction.

Spencer's Writing Books—Wholesale and Retail.

Books of the American Sunday School Union.

Bibles, Prayer-Books, Hymn-Books, and all kinds of

Theological, Historical, Poetical, Scientific AND

Miscellaneous Books.

SCHOOL BOOKS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION.

Best quality of Writing-Paper, at Wholesale or Retail. Blank Books, Memorandums, Pass-Books, and everything else pertaining to the business.

J. M'MILLAN.

Salem, Oct. 27, 1860.

THE CLOSING OF THE

CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

GRAND RALLY AT THE BROADWAY

CLOTH AND CLOTHING

HOUSE.

Well known as the Largest and Cheapest Clothing House in the Country, Celebrated for its

CHOICE STYLES OF GOODS!

FASHIONABLE CUT

NEATNESS OF FIT!

AND

DURABILITY OF WORK!!

We keep no Eastern Work. Every Garment made up here by Superior Workmen, of Goods bought direct of the Manufacturers and Importers, and Warranted well made.

REMEMBER THE PLACE;

Sign of the American Flag, Street's Block,

BROADWAY, SALEM, OHIO.

H. WEEKS & Co., Proprietors.

Salem, Nov. 3, 1860.

☞Branch House, West end of Buckeye House, Alliance, Stark County, Ohio.

VARIETY & NOTIONS.

Having just returned from the East, I take pleasure in announcing to my numerous customers and the public, that I have a large and carefully selected stock of

DRY GOODS AND NOTIONS.

Please call and see my

White and Brown Muslins, Irish Linen, Fine Muslin, Delane, Cashmere, Gingham, Calico, White and Colored Flannel, Shawls, Hose, Under Shirts and Drawers, Wool and Zephyr Hoods, Hand Bretnes, FANCY HAIR PINS, and Shirt Fronts;

Combs and Brushes, Embroidery, Suspenders, White, Drab, and Blue Yarn, Silk, Gilt Cloth, Hosiery, Gloves, Tape, Sewing Birds, and Notions of almost every variety.

I have moved my Notion and Variety Store, opposite the Town Hall, and One door West of Callahan's Shoe Store, where I shall be pleased to wait on all who will give me a call.

Thankful for past favors, I still hope for a liberal share of public patronage.

H. H. BARR.

Salem, Nov. 3, 1860.

JOB WORK NEATLY EXECUTED.

BLANK DEEDS, Mortgages, Judgment Notes and Summons for sale at this Office.

Miscellaneous.

SONG OF THE PRINTER.

Pick and click
Go the types in the stick,
As the printer stands at his case;
His eyes glance quick, and his fingers pick
The type at a rapid pace.
And, one by one, as the letters go,
Words are piled up steady and slow—
Steady and slow,
But still they grow,
And words of fire they soon will glow;
Wonderful words, that without a sound
Shall traverse the earth to its utmost bound—
Words that shall make
The tyrant quake,
And the bonds of the slave oppress'd shall break;
Words that can crumble an army's might,
Or treble its strength in a righteous fight.
Yet the types they look but leaden and dumb
As he puts them in place with his finger and thumb;
But the Printer smiled,
And his work beguiled,
By chanting a song as the letters he piled
While pick and click
Went the types in the stick,
Like the world's chronometer, tick! tick! tick!

"Oh! where is the man, with such simple tools,
That can govern the world like I?
A printing press, an iron stick,
And a little leaden die;
With paper of white, and ink of black,
I support the Right, and the Wrong attack.
I pull the strings
Of puppet kings,
And I tweak the despot's nose;
Or, I let him alone
Till the people groan
When I needs must interpose;
Nor yet again
Do I e'en disdain
To talk of lowly woes.

Then where is he,
Or, who may he be,
That can rival the Printer's power?
To no monarchs that live
The wall doth he give;
Their sway only lasts for an hour;
While the Printer still grows,
And God only knows
When his might shall cease to lower."

INDIAN JUGGLING.

CHANGING A BRASS COIN INTO A SNAKE.

The fort of Calcutta, commonly known as Fort William, is one of the most splendid and convenient military establishments to be found in any quarter of the globe. It is very spacious, and somewhat resembles the Tower of London, in that it consists of various circular and squares, adapted for different military purposes. On all sides it is guarded by a high and strongly-built rampart, which is surrounded in its turn by a broad and deep fosse, over which are placed drawbridges, leading to the principal gateways. Arrived in Calcutta, a raw griffin, of course I went to inspect the lions, and, among others, the fort.

The fort is often the scene of animated festivity, from the presence of native jugglers, renowned for their surprising skill and dexterity. The performance of these strange people have been so often described, that I shall only make mention of a few, for otherwise I might tire the reader.

One of them struck me as being curious from its having a strong resemblance to the feats recorded in sacred history, as having been performed by the magicians of Egypt, in the time of Moses, and in presence of Pharoh. Indeed, as it is well known that the Hindoo tricks have been handed down from the most distant ages, from father to son, there is little wonder that such a similarity can exist. The particular trick alluded to is the apparent conversion of a brass coin into a snake. The juggler gave me the coin to hold, and then seated himself, about five yards from me, on a small rug, from which he never attempted to move during the whole performance. I showed the coin to several persons who were close beside me, as a form in front of the juggler. At a sign from him, I not only grasped the coin I held firmly in my right hand, but crossing that hand with equal tightness with my left, I inclosed them both as firmly as I could between my knees. Of course I was positively certain that the small coin was within my double fist.

The juggler then began a sort of incantation, accompanied by a monotonous and discordant kind of recitative, and repeating the words, Ram, Sammo, during some minutes. He then suddenly stopped, and still keeping his seat, made a quick motion with his right hand as if throwing something at me, giving at the same time a puff with his mouth. At that instant I felt my hands suddenly distend, and become partly open, while I experienced a sensation as if a cold ball of dough, or something equally soft, nasty, and disagreeable was now between my palms. I started to my feet in astonishment, also to the astonishment of others, and opening my hands, found there no coin, but to my horror and alarm (for of all created things I detest and loathe the genus) I saw a young snake, all alive—oh! and of all snakes in the world, a cobra-di-capello, folded, or rather coiled, roundly up. I threw it instantly to the ground, trembling with rage and fear, as if already bit by the deadly reptile, which began immediately to crawl along the ground, to the alarm and amazement of every one present. The juggler now got up for the first time since he had sat down, and catching hold of the snake displayed its length, which was nearly two feet—two feet all but an inch and a half. He then took it cautiously by the tail, and opening his own mouth to its widest extent, let the head of the snake drop into it, and deliberately commenced to swallow the animal, till the end of the tail was only visible; then making a sudden gulp, the whole of the snake was apparently swallowed. After this, he came up to the spectators, and opening his mouth wide, permitted us to look into his throat, but no snake or snake's tail was visible; it was seemingly down his throat altogether.

During the remainder of the performances, we never saw this snake again, nor did the man profess his ability to make it reappear; but he performed another snake-trick, which surprised us very much. He took from a bag another cobra-di-capello, and walking into the centre of the room, inclosed it in his hands in a folded state. He waved, or shook them for some time in this condition, and then opened his fists, when, hey! presto!—the snake was gone, and in its place appeared several small ones, which he suffered to fall from his hands, when they glided, with their peculiar undulating movement, almost like the wavy of the sea, across the floor.—*English Officer, in Once A Week.*

From the Cincinnati Commercial.

LEGISLATORS, ATTENTION!—A LADY PLEADS FOR JUSTICE TO HER SEX.

CINCINNATI, March 4, 1861.

EDS. COM.:—I am not a lawyer, nor am I well versed in the technicalities of the law, nor am I a woman who meddles with political affairs, nor yet am I a Woman's Rights individual in the common acceptation of that term. Yet sometimes there comes under my observation some law report or legislative act, that even my dull brain can in a measure comprehend. Amongst these few comprehended and noticeable acts, one reported in your paper of the 2nd inst., has prompted me to speak through the medium of your extensively read columns. I may not have rightly understood the exact meaning and intention of the measure I refer to—the act prohibiting married women from engaging in any business pursuit. I humbly ask the State of Ohio not to enslave her white women, whilst in her great philanthropy she would free the black slave of the South. How many married women, Messrs. Editors, do you suppose there are, weighed down by domestic cares, (which, goodness knows, are enough, without any additional labor) who would willingly add thereto by the out door strife allotted to the stronger and sterner sex, did not cruel necessity compel them so to do? How many are there, who, with drunken, trifling, neglectful husbands, who provide scantily or not at all, must labor or starve? To get rid of a bad husband is no easy matter. They never die; you dare not kill them; you cannot leave them; so the only alternative left is to support yourself, children and husband, in as decent a manner as possible. But if the *generous* laws spoken of are enforced, the woman may sit quietly down and starve, go to the poor house, or do worse. It is hard enough to be oppressed with the duties of two devolving on one, but much harder to be unable, even when willing, to provide the comforts of life for a helpless little family. How many, in this great city alone, would be homeless and friendless but for the untiring devotion of a mother? How she will and does toil, and weep, and pray, in her forsaken helplessness, will only be known when the time comes,

"When all is made right which so puzzles us here."

Then, Messrs. Editors, as we all suppose editors can influence everybody and accomplish everything, for once put on the armor of olden time knights, and fly to the rescue of persecuted women. If you or somebody else does not, I for one will *accede*. I'll raise a regiment of married women, and hoist the much abused ensign the enemies of the good old Harrison used derisively to fling to the breeze during his Presidential campaign, and capture the whole Ohio Legislature (*and we can do it,*) put the ringleaders to the sword, and march in triumph back to the support of our husbands and children. Now, dear Messrs. Editors, do save bloodshed, and come out like men. The sword is unsheathed, greedy for slaughter. Speak, or the Legislature is lost. Yours,

AMAZON.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati Commercial.

"AMAZON"—WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

SALEM, Ohio, March 12.

EDS. COM.:—I desire to invite, through your columns, your spirited correspondent of the 4th instant—"Amazon"—to investigate our Woman's Rights principles, and co-operate with us in our measures. What she told us is evidently true, that she has not done so, else she would understand that the thing she so much dreads, happened long, long ago. The married woman has no legal protection in any business pursuit, and if she calls this enslavement, the women of Ohio, have always been enslaved. On this very subject the Legislature has been petitioned this season, perhaps four times as numerously as on any other interest whatever, and hundreds of names to our petition, have been sent up from her own city.

So much better are men than their laws, that many a woman remains in utter ignorance of her legal condition. She does business on her own account, and pockets the money she don't have occasion to spend, all by the sufferance of her husband; and never dreams but it is a legal transaction, till some exacting creditor of his, comes and sweeps away the fruit of all her toil, into his own coffers.

There are women in Ohio, not a few, perhaps, who receive, and control the proceeds of all the real estate which vests in them; and they believe they do it by law, when it is simply allowed by the kindness of the good husbands with whom they are so fortunate as to be united. No honorable and upright man wants the property belonging to his wife, or the use of it; he does not want her separate earnings to squander upon his pleasures, or to discharge the debts he was so foolish as to contract. He can attend to these matters without any help. Hence, the law, as it now stands, is a powerful agent for evil in the hands of bad men, while true, generous men never avail themselves of it. Is not this a good reason for change?

The Woman's Rights bill, drafted and nobly advocated by Judge Key, of Cincinnati, in the Senate, and for which I thank him in the name of all the laboring women of Ohio, was lost, it seems, upon the engrossment, by the casting vote of the President. Ladies, I hope your memory is good, and will serve you till next Autumn! I heard a portion of the discussion on that bill, and it was truly amusing to see grave Senators set up a man of straw, and then beat him down with perverted scripture. The most improbable and the most impossible things were supposed by the opponents of the bill.

This is only a question of time. If the assembled wisdom see fit to turn a deaf ear to our prayer this year, rest assured that a Legislature will be elected next, that will show it more respect. Such a constituency as have interested themselves in this subject, and whose names are before that body, will not be apt to let it drop. The women, too, who are constantly embarrassed by the restrictions upon their personal, property, and parental rights, will ultimately prevail because of their importunity, if for no other reason.

We have an abiding interest in the subject, and although we could not join "Amazon" in her proposed raid upon the Legislature, (as women's rights women are a little fastidious in the matter of dignity,) yet we are *terribly* in earnest. No men who have ever gone to war have been more so. We use words, and words alone, and they are kind and gentle; but the claim to these rights we shall *never* yield; our purpose is as firm as was that of the Prince of Orange when he said, "I'll die in the last ditch."

We have some interest also, as well as men, in the general welfare and prosperity of our country.

If it was not our mothers who fought and bled for its liberties, they made the cartridges and buckled on the knapsacks of those who did, in the spirit of true Spartan women. If it is not ourselves who have tilled the soil, and dug the gold, and built the cities, we have raised the men who have done all this, and made the country prosperous.

And now we deem it essential for *their* best interests and for ours, that we have the same legal protection for our natural rights that men have for theirs; and what is more we expect to have it. We know that Ohio can afford to be as generous and just towards her women, as the old despotisms of Europe are toward their women. And we know that Ohio *cannot* afford to be behind Missouri, Louisiana and Canada in the protection of the rights of her married daughters. Hence, I repeat this is a question of time, and no foe of the cause need feel elated by any temporary triumph he may obtain, and no friend ought to feel disheartened by the same.

J. ELIZABETH JONES.

THE MARCH OF THE DEAD.

BY ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D. D.

March—march—march!
Making sounds as they tread:
Ho—ho! how they step,
Going down to the dead!
Every stride, every tramp,
Every foot-fall is nearer;
And dimmer each lamp,
As darkness grows drearer.
But—ho! how they march,
Making sounds as they tread:
Ho—ho! how they step,
Going down to the dead!

March—march—march!
Making sounds as they tread:
Ha—ha! how they laugh,
Going down to the dead!
How they whirl, how they trip,
How they smile, how they dally:
How lithesome they skip,
Going down to the valley;
Oh—ho! how they march,
Making sounds as they tread;
Ho—ho! how they trip,
Going down to the dead!

March—march—march!
Earth groans as they tread,
Each carries a skull,
Going down to the dead!
Every stride—every tramp,
Every foot-fall is bolder;
'Tis a skeleton's tramp,
With a skull on his shoulder.
But ho! how he steps,
With a high-topping head,
That clay-covered bone
Going down to the dead!

A SUPERNATURAL PREMONITION—STORY OF A RAILROAD ENGINEER.

I was running a night express train, and had a train of ten cars—eight passenger and two baggage cars—and all were well loaded. I was behind time, and was very anxious to make a certain point; thus I was using every exertion, and putting the engine to the utmost speed to which she was capable. 'Twas on a section of the road usually considered the best running ground on the line, and I was endeavoring to make the most of it, when a conviction struck me that I must stop.

A something seemed to tell me that to go ahead was dangerous, and that I must stop if I would save life. I looked back at my train, and it was all right. I strained my eyes and peered into the darkness, and could see no signal of danger, nor anything betokening danger, and there I could see five miles in the day time. I listened to the working of my engine, I tried the water, looked at the guage, and all was right. I tried to laugh myself out of what I then considered a childish fear, but, like Banquo's ghost, it would not go down at my bidding, but grew stronger in its hold upon me.

I thought of the ridicule I would have heaped upon me if I did stop, but it was of no avail.—The conviction—for by this time it had ripened into a conviction—that I must stop grew still stronger, and I shut off and blew the whistle for breakers according. I came to a dead halt, got off, and went ahead a little way, without saying anything to anybody what the matter was. I had a lamp in my hand, and had gone about sixty feet, when I saw what convinced me that premonitions are possible. I dropped my lantern from my nerveless grasp, and sat down on the track, utterly unable to stand; for there was a switch, the thought of which had never entered my mind, as it had never been used since I had been on the road, and was known to be spiked, but was open to lead me off the track. The switch led into a stone quarry, whence stone for bridge purposes had been quarried, and the switch left there in case stone should be needed at any time, but was always locked, and the switch rail spiked. Yet here it was quite open, and had I not obeyed my premonition—warning—call it what you will—I should have run into it, and, at the end of the track, only about ten rods long, my heavy engine and train, moving at the rate of thirty miles an hour, would have come in collision with a solid wall of rock, eighteen feet high. The consequences, had I done so, can neither be imagined nor described; but they could, by no possibility, have been otherwise than fatally horrid. This is my experience in getting warning from a source that I know not, and cannot divine. It is a mystery to me, a mystery for which I am very thankful, however, although I dare not attempt to explain it, nor whence it came.

FANCY MUSIC.—I was once belated in Canada, on a fine winter day, and was riding over the hard snow on the margin of a wide lake, when the most faint and mournful wail that could break a solemn silence seemed to pass through me like a dream. I stopped my horse and listened. For some time I could not satisfy myself whether the music was in the air or in my own brain. I thought of the pine forest which was not far off, but the tone was not harp-like, and there was not a breath of wind. Then it swelled and approached, and then it seemed to be miles away in a moment, and again it moaned, as if under my feet. It was the voice of the winds imprisoned under the pall of ice suddenly cast over them by the peremptory power of the frost. Nobody there had made air holes, for the place was a wilderness; and there was no escape for the winds, which must moan on till the spring warmth should release them. They were fashioned down in silence; but they would come out with an explosion when, in some still night, after a warm spring day, the ice would blow up, and make a crash and a racket from shore to shore. So I was told at my host's that evening, where I arrived with something of the sensation of a haunted man. It had been some time before the true idea struck me; meanwhile the rising and falling moan made my very heart thrill again.—*Once a Week.*

PLEASANT TO TOBACCO CHEWERS.

A letter from Petersburg, Va., to the Schenectady *Star*, gives the following description of the manner of preparing chewing tobacco in that region: "Commence on the upper floor, which is as dirty as a cow stable. In the corner are large heaps of tobacco. At one end is a large cauldron into which is put liquorice, rum, and tonca bean. On one side of the room, is a large frame, like a mortar bed, into which is put the weed, to be sprinkled with the above decoction. Two or three darkies are stirring the tobacco up with their feet, so that all portions may become equally saturated. After this operation it is dried upon plates overhead, until it is fit for working in the room below. On the second story, the leaf is divested of its stem by numerous black women and children. It is then, in a supple state, made into rolls an inch or two inches in diameter, and of any required lengths. On the ground floor, the rolls are squeezed into plugs, and carefully packed for transportation to the tobacco loving people of the North. Some may think part of this description highly colored, but it is literally a true account of what I saw, more than once. It might be supposed that people here do not chew, but this is not so; almost everybody does—but then they chew the natural leaf.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following table has been furnished by the Superintendent of the Census, at Washington, for the purpose of apportioning members of Congress to the various States. The ratio of representation for a member of Congress is 127,216.

In the Northern States, white persons are counted, each individual as one, in determining the numerical basis of representation; in the slave States, negroes are also counted, five as being equal to three white men.

	Free Popul'n.	*Slave Popul'n.*	*37th Cong. Rep'sent'ves.*
Maine,	619,958	—	5
New Hampshire,	326,072	—	3
Vermont,	315,827	—	3
Massachusetts,	1,231,494	—	10
Rhode Island,	174,621	—	1
Connecticut,	460,670	—	4
New York,	3,851,563	—	30
Pennsylvania,	2,916,018	—	22
New Jersey,	676,034	—	5
Delaware,	110,548	1,805	1
Maryland,	646,183	85,382	6
Virginia,	1,097,373	495,826	11
North Carolina,	679,965	328,177	7
South Carolina,	308,186	407,135	4
Georgia,	645,826	467,400	7
Florida,	81,885	63,846	1
Alabama,	520,444	435,473	6
Mississippi,	407,051	479,607	5
Louisiana,	354,556	313,186	4
Arkansas,	331,710	109,065	3
Texas,	415,999	184,956	4
Tennessee,	856,528	287,112	3
Kentucky,	920,077	225,490	8
Ohio,	2,377,617	—	19
Indiana,	1,350,802	—	11
Illinois,	1,691,533	—	13
Missouri,	1,085,595	115,619	9
Michigan,	754,291	—	6
Wisconsin,	768,485	—	6
Iowa,	606,000	—	5
Minnesota,	172,763	—	1
Oregon,	52,556	—	1
California,	384,770	—	9
Total population,	31,241,144	3,999,853	233

POPULATION OF THE TERRITORIES.

Kansas,	143,645
Nebraska,	28,893
New Mexico,	93,024
Utah,	50,000
Dakotah,	4,839
Washington,	11,624
District of Columbia,	75,311
Total of Territories,	406,345

RECAPITULATION.

Total free population of all States and Territories of the United States,	31,637,489
Slave population,	3,999,853

GOING TO BED.

A PHILOSOPHIC VIEW.—The following is from the Chicago *Journal*:

Some fling off their garments as if they were the shirt of Nessus—wasn't that his name?—and were particularly anxious to get at it. Here goes a vest in one corner—its contents jingling to the floor as it lies. There goes a boot *ricochet*. The stockings are turned inside out; the hapless coat hangs by its skirt to a nail, and the bed is attained with a bound. Pillows tumbled this way and that; the feet are inserted between the sheets, and, like a shuttle through a loom, down goes the body; one arm is flung under the head; lower jaw and eyelids droop together, and the man is asleep—asleep all over—asleep for all night.

Another goes *tetering* about on his toes. He puts his watch here, his coat there, and his vest there. His boots stand side by side, like a brace of grenadiers; tips of his stockings peep out systematically to the top; and if it be winter, he lingers upon the bed's edge like one about to take a bath—dreading, yet desiring, and finally *steals* into bed by degrees, draws the quilt and the counterpane over his head and is motionless—is gone—arrives in the land of Nod.

If one only thinks of it, sleep, in a great city, is a queer thing. Think of fifty thousand in this city as sleeping at once. Fifty thousand, in tiers of one, two, three, four, and five, from cellar to garret. Fifty thousand in rows a mile long. Ten thousand in red nightcaps, tasseled and untasseled. Ten thousand in dingy ones that were white Mondays and Mondays ago. Five thousand in silken ones. Some edged beautifully, some hemmed with a nail needle, and some uncapped altogether, with locks dishevelled and ruffled like "quills upon the fretful porcupine."

Five thousand snoring alto—five thousand snoring bass. Twenty thousand under calico. A hundred or so beneath silk. Some weeping—some smiling in their dreams—others dreamless as the grave. Ringlets twisted up in cigar-lighters—trousers streaming over the pillow—no trousers at all.

Even asleep, humanity preserves its peculiarities. Even in dreams men are distinctive still.

Have you ever watched an icicle as it formed? You noticed how it froze one drop at a time, until it was a foot long or more. If the water was clean, the icicle remained clear and sparkled in the sun, but if the water was but slightly muddy, the icicle looked foul, and its beauty was spoiled. Just so our characters are forming. One little thought or feeling at a time adds its influence. If every thought be pure and right, the soul will be lovely and will sparkle with happiness; but if impure and wrong, there will always be wretchedness.

ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

The Tract Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society will furnish the following Tracts on application at M'Millan's Book Store, Salem, Ohio.

Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Virginia. pp. 28. 5 cents.

The New Reign of Terror in the Slaveholding States, for 1859 and 1860. pp. 144. 10 cents.

Daniel O'Connell on American Slavery; with other Irish Testimonies. pp. 48. 5 cents.

The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the West Indies and elsewhere. By L. Maria Child. pp. 95. 10 cents.

Testimonies of Capt. John Brown at Harper's Ferry, with his address to the Court. pp. 16. 3 cts.

The Philosophy of the Abolition Movement. By Wendell Phillips. pp. 47. 5 cents.

The Duty of Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Act: An Appeal to the Legislators of Massachusetts. By L. Maria Child. pp. 36. 5 cents.

The Infidelity of Abolitionism. By Wm. Lloyd Garrison. pp. 12. 3 cents.

Speech of John Hossack, convicted of a Violation of the Fugitive Slave Act at Chicago, Illinois. pp. 12. 3 cents.

The Patriarchal Institution, as described by Members of its Own Family. Compiled by L. Maria Child. pp. 55. 5 cents.

No Slave-Hunting in the Old Bay State: An Appeal to the People and Legislature of Massachusetts. pp. 24. 5 cents.

Platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries. pp. 36. 3 cents.

Packages containing all of the above will be furnished for 30 cents, or if sent by mail 45 cents. The Postage on the Reign of Terror is 5 cts, on the Right Way 3 cts, and on the others 1 cent each.

Redpath's life of John Brown for sale as above, price 75 cents.

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Journeys of the Uncommercial Traveller,
BY CHARLES DICKENS.

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which was written for and makes its first appearance in this publication. Readers who peruse the beautiful stories, sketches, etc., of 'All The Year Round,' quoted into other publications, should understand that they get only a taste of the rich things which the entire work contains each month.

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C. L. CHURCH.

March 1st 1860

November, 1860. *November, 1860.*

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Salem, Nov. 24, 1860.

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